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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN PORT ARTHUR: THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY, THE BOARD, AND THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

By Tina M. Kibbe

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court, in the landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, unanimously declared the concept of separate-but-equal unconstitutional in the field of public education, thereby presenting a racially divided nation with the task of desegregating its public schools. The Court considered criteria beyond physical facilities and other tangible assets of black and white schools. Even if black and white schools had substantially equal buildings, curricula, classroom materials, teacher qualifications, and equal salaries, segregation itself nullified equal educational opportunities. Therefore, separate educational facilities were "inherently unequal."¹ In the words of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the separation of black children from other children based on race "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."²

Despite the magnitude of the decision, the initial response of much of the country was relatively calm, no doubt because of the Court's failure to spell out a specific procedure or timeline as to how and when desegregation was to occur. An attempt by the Court to clarify matters in 1955 in a decision known as *Brown II* was not particularly helpful. It instructed school districts to admit children to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis "with all deliberate speed."³ The vague nature of this statement loomed over the desegregation controversy for years, and it was quickly translated by many Southerners to mean stall, delay, and, in the most conservative sense, never. *Brown II* ordered the lower courts to ensure that children were admitted to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. Although the *Brown* decisions set in motion a gradual process of desegregation that was to be mediated by the courts, implementation of the decree was left largely in the hands of the offended party, inasmuch as the method of accomplishing desegregation was left to individual school districts. The Port Arthur Independent School District, along with thousands of other school districts, continued to operate a dual system of education until forced to do otherwise.

Port Arthur, Texas, was founded by Arthur E. Stilwell, a Kansas railroad promoter who wanted to establish a railroad from Kansas City to the Gulf of Mexico. Stilwell began settling the city in 1895 and it was incorporated in spring 1898 with more than 860 residents. By that time Stilwell had established the Port Arthur Channel and Dock Company, which began cutting a canal along the western edge of Lake Sabine to the deep water at Sabine Pass. After the Spindletop oil strike in 1901 Port Arthur became home to several major oil companies, and by 1914 it was the second largest oil refining point in the country.⁴

By 1950 Port Arthur's population had increased to 57,530, of which seventy-six percent was white and twenty-four percent was non-white.⁵ Oil refining remained the economic foundation of Port Arthur throughout the first half of the twentieth century, with five refineries in the area employing approximately 12,000 workers whose salaries accounted for about half of the money spent at Port Arthur businesses.⁶

As in most cities and towns, the local newspaper both reflected and determined public reaction to controversial issues. The response of the *Port Arthur News* to the Brown decision was calm, reporting that the city was taking the desegregation ruling in stride and that "school board members, PTA leaders, and white and Negro citizens generally were declining to get excited." School Board President Lynn Strawn said that the decision was like "death and taxes and here to stay," but he hastily added that Port Arthur would have no problem "because of the good, solid [African American] citizens" who lived on the West Side. Sounding rather paternalistic, school board member Fred Wilson expected little change, because, he said, "our colored people have good facilities" and would most likely prefer "to attend their own schools anyway." Perhaps seeing matters a bit differently, Dr. J.B. Mathews, an African American physician, acknowledged that the decision was "a far-reaching one" that was "long overdue," but cautioned that its resolution would "depend on the patience and tact of both races."

After the State Board of Education directed local school boards to study appropriate methods for implementing the Court's decision, the Port Arthur Independent School District (PAISD) Board of Trustees adopted a grade-a-year plan based upon a study done by the board's public relations committee, all of whom were white. This committee urged authorities in public schools to support the "law of the land" and to establish a system for admitting students to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis as soon as practicable. Lest anyone assume this meant swift desegregation, the committee promptly reassured everyone that there would be no change in the operation of schools in the 1956-1957 school year and that attendance zones would be established along geographical lines similar to those already in existence.⁸ Hence, the plan adopted by the school board would begin the desegregation process in the 1957-1958 school year by admitting students to kindergarten and first-grade classes on a racially integrated basis. All grades above the first would continue to be segregated racially until after the board had gained experience with the operation of the partially integrated program. The plan also allowed kindergarten and first-grade students living in an area predominantly occupied by people of another race to transfer freely to a school attended predominantly by students of the same race.⁹

Even this modest step toward desegregation was derailed when the Fifty-Fifth Texas Legislature passed House Bill No. 65, which stipulated that any district voluntarily integrating without an election called by petition of more than twenty percent of the qualified voters would receive no state funds.¹⁰ Since there had been no petition for such an election in Port Arthur, the district

was forced to delay its plans for desegregation and to continue operating a dual system comprised of three black elementary schools, seven white elementary schools, one black junior-senior high school, three white junior high schools, and two white high schools.¹¹

In 1962 Texas Attorney General Will Wilson became involved. Based on the *Brown and Boson v. Rippey* decisions, Wilson believed that the provision of the state law requiring an election prior to the abolition of a dual public school system was unconstitutional.¹² So, faced no longer with the threat of a loss of funds, the PAISD trustees again adopted a grade-a-year plan of integration to begin in the 1963-1964 school year. After a sufficient amount of time, the plan was to be reevaluated to determine if it could be accelerated.¹³ That evaluation occurred in 1965, and the trustees agreed to speed the process by integrating students in kindergarten, first, second, and third grades at the start of the 1965-1966 school year.¹⁴ But this modest acceleration, based upon new policies issued by the Office of Education under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was inadequate. The board was under pressure to integrate PAISD fully by 1965-1966, a step that members were unwilling to take because of alleged administrative problems. Consequently, the board decided to fully integrate the district over the next two school years.¹⁵

The new plan called for grades kindergarten through six to be integrated based on a single non-racial system of attendance zones, while the ninth-grade would be integrated based on "freedom of choice" for the 1965-1966 school year. The next year grades seven through twelve would be integrated based on freedom-of-choice as well. The trustees asserted that questions of race, color, or national origin had not been taken into account in establishing attendance zones, nor would they be in the future. With the freedom-of-choice plan, parents could choose the school that their children would attend. Information explaining the new plan and a choice-of-school form was to be sent to parents whose children would be affected. Except in cases of overcrowding, the district also stated that no choice would be denied.¹⁶

Implementation of the freedom-of-choice plan continued until 1968, when the Region VII Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) sent the first of two review teams to the district. HEW informed PAISD that its desegregation plan was not satisfactory and that it had thirty days to adopt a plan that would achieve an integrated, unitary school system. HEW called for more integration of teachers throughout the district because the current level did not meet minimum HEW standards. PAISD responded somewhat defiantly by letter on June 13, 1968, stating that it was the opinion of the board that much progress had been made in meeting its obligations of education and integration in Port Arthur.¹⁷

In July 1968 HEW again emphasized that PAISD had not addressed the total elimination of all vestiges of the dual system because it continued to operate six schools attended solely by black students. As a result, on August 15, 1968 HEW sent a second team to investigate which also found that the extent of faculty integration still did not meet minimum HEW standards.¹⁸

Superintendent Clyde Gott rather dismissively asserted that the district's perceived noncompliance was due to a misunderstanding between PAISD and HEW due to a number of personnel changes at HEW.¹⁹ And with that the district continued to operate as it had until May 1970, at which time HEW referred the issue to the Department of Justice for litigation.²⁰

On August 7, 1970, the Department of Justice filed a complaint against the Texas Education Agency (TEA) and several school districts, including Port Arthur, under Section 407 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. § 2000c-6, and the Fourteenth Amendment. The Justice Department argued that school districts were still operating dual-race systems and demanded an end to such practices. The United States District Court in Tyler, Texas, entered an order requiring the United States and the defendants to file their respective desegregation plans by August 24, 1970. PAISD filed a motion for a change of venue, requesting that its portion of the case be severed and moved to Beaumont, Texas. The motion was granted on August 14, 1970.²¹

Following a hearing on the merits of the case, the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Texas in Beaumont entered an order on September 15, 1970, requiring PAISD to develop and maintain a unitary school system. The order further required the district to implement immediately a student attendance desegregation plan; to have the black and white teacher and staff ratio at each school substantially the same for the district as a whole; and to conduct all future school construction, consolidation, and site selection so that there could be no recurrence of a dual system once the desegregation plan was in place.²²

The court denied the student assignment plan sought by the Department of Justice and approved the plan of PAISD, which contained adjusted, or racially neutral, attendance zones, majority-to-minority student transfers, and the closing of one school. The court conceded that a small number of one-race schools would remain in existence, but it determined that the racial characteristics of those schools were due solely to community housing programs and were not tied to the former dual system. The order specified that the plan would be put into effect on September 21, 1970, and the court would retain jurisdiction over the matter.²³

To comply with the order, the district began reassigning faculty to ensure that the black and white teacher and staff ratios were substantially the same throughout the district. In 1970, Dolores Williams and six other black teachers were moved from all-black Carver Elementary to Tyrrell Elementary, which was mostly white. Williams, a physical education teacher who had been with PAISD for six years, recalled that the white teachers barely spoke to the black teachers, and that many white teachers even refused to sit near them in faculty meetings. The white teachers were also extremely critical of the black teachers. Williams stated that some white faculty members chose to resign from PAISD rather than be reassigned to an all-black school. Although she had a tough first year, Williams believed that the second and subsequent years were much improved because the apprehension of both the black and white faculty

gradually dissipated, easing the tension with each passing year.²⁴

One year after the initial court-ordered desegregation plan of the PAISD, the United States Supreme Court decided the case of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. This decision not only offered guidelines for desegregating schools, but also granted federal courts the right to fashion immediate desegregation remedies, including large-scale busing and racial-balance desegregation plans. The decision stated that in any district where one-race schools continued to exist, it was the burden of that district to prove that the "dual assignments [were] genuinely non-discriminatory."²⁵ Subsequent to the *Swann* decision, the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals recognized that desegregation plans that retained single-race, or virtually single-race schools, must be reevaluated because the existence of these schools was unacceptable where other alternatives were available.²⁶

On October 22, 1979, a representative of the Department of Justice met with PAISD's attorney and the district's coordinator of pupil and personnel services to explain the steps the district would need to take with respect to student assignment to meet current desegregation requirements. The Department of Justice, complaining that five schools – Wheatley, Franklin, Carver, Washington, and Lincoln – were racially identifiable, notified PAISD that it expected the district to develop a student assignment plan that would dismantle the former dual system. The PAISD school board requested permission from the Justice Department to hire an expert to evaluate the district, using a "programmatic approach" to develop the student assignment plan. According to PAISD, this was necessary because the district would lose most of its white students if the new plan were implemented without a strong emphasis on programs.²⁷

On January 28, 1980, the Department of Justice filed a Motion for Supplemental Relief, alleging that the court order in 1970 failed to disestablish the dual-race school system and that PAISD was essentially operating as many one-race schools as it had before September 15, 1970. Unless ordered to do so by the court, the Justice Department insisted that the district would continue to operate a large number of single-race schools, which violated federal law and the constitutional rights of the students attending those schools. Justice also held that PAISD continued to assign faculty and staff to schools in violation of the court's order and the requirements of *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District*. To support its argument, the Justice Department furnished statistics showing that Lincoln, Washington, Carver, Franklin, and Wheatley remained over ninety-four percent black, while Travis, Sims, Lee, Tyrrell, and Houston each were over ninety percent white.²⁸

On March 12, 1980, in response to the Justice Department's allegations, the PAISD trustees unanimously voted to appoint a multiracial Citizens Advisory Committee composed of four blacks, four whites, two Hispanics, and one Vietnamese. The committee's purpose was to study the plan of desegregation from 1970 to determine whether it should be left intact or modified. The committee held ten meetings, the first four of which were closed to the

public. The first public meeting took place on May 12, 1980, and its purpose was to hear the opinions of the community on desegregation. Thirteen speakers addressed the committee, and a majority opposed busing and objected to sending children from the same family to different schools.²⁹

The Citizens Advisory Committee unanimously adopted a report on June 15, 1980. Tools of desegregation such as pairing, clustering, non-contiguous zoning, gerrymandering, and busing were rejected because the committee believed they would accelerate "white flight" and would have minimal lasting effects in achieving integration.³⁰ On June 23, 1980, the Board of Trustees unanimously adopted the recommendations of the committee, although trustee Alfred Z. McElroy, an African American, had some reservations. He doubted that white flight was as much of a problem in Port Arthur as the district contended, called the magnet school concept "a farce," and objected to the use of the term "integrated educational quality" regarding the magnet school program. McElroy also frowned on the interdistrict programs recommended by the committee, citing statements of school superintendents from nearby Nederland and Port Neches that their districts would not participate in such a plan.³¹

An evidentiary hearing was held by the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Texas in Beaumont on October 8-10, 1980. The United States and PAISD both presented evidence relating to the school system, its facilities, the racial composition of the student body, faculty, and staff within the district, and its various schools. The Justice Department offered four options for desegregating PAISD, using the traditional methods of clustering, zoning, pairing, and non-contiguous zoning.³² Justice wanted 6,000 of the approximately 11,000 students within PAISD bused to achieve better integration.³³ PAISD countered, proposing to close one traditionally white school (Sims) and two traditionally black schools (Carver and Wheatley). In addition, PAISD offered to redraw student attendance zone lines to promote integration at DeQueen, Sam Houston, Tyrrell, Travis, and Lee schools, and to create magnet schools at the traditionally black schools of Washington, Franklin, Wilson, and Lincoln.³⁴

The district court rendered its decision on April 27, 1981, finding no need to modify the order from 1970. The court rejected the plan for busing submitted by the Justice Department and approved PAISD's proposed magnet school program and the closure of two elementary schools. The court did note, however, that there was evidence that racially identifiable schools continued to exist in the district. Moreover, while PAISD had not maintained strict compliance with the *Singleton* ratio, the order of 1970 had required only that the ratio in each school be "substantially" the same as that of the district at large, a requirement with which PAISD had made a good faith effort to comply.³⁵

The Justice Department and PAISD reached a settlement that was approved by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on March 1, 1982. In the stipulation attached to the case, PAISD was to create magnet schools, alter grade structures, close and consolidate schools, and reassign students. In addition, the district was to redraw attendance zones, provide for majority-to-minority trans-

fers, integrate faculty assignments, plan for additions to the desegregation plan in subsequent years, and file reports with the court to account for its actions, with notice provided the United States.³⁶ PAISD filed its annual reports per the stipulation until 1992, after which there was an eight-year lapse.

In 1994 the NAACP complained that PAISD was not doing enough to integrate its faculty. Raymond Scott, chapter president, asserted that the ratio of teachers did not reflect the schools' racial composition, thereby failing to furnish the students with racially diverse positive role models. The PAISD superintendent disputed these claims, pointing out that forty-six percent of the district's total staff was African American.³⁷

In May 1998 state comptroller John Sharp recommended that the district explore the feasibility of seeking a release from its desegregation order by forming a task force to study removal of the order and to draft plans for continuing integration within the district. The Sharp report noted that the Summit magnet programs had been hampered by the desegregation order. Furthermore, the money mandated for use in these programs could be better used to improve the existing programs in every school instead of a selected few.³⁸

In response to the Sharp study, the PAISD trustees formed a Citizens' Task Force to develop recommendations to proceed with the desegregation of the district and to obtain unitary status. The task force had approximately 100 members and was divided into two committees. One committee was to explore the issue of consolidating the high schools and the other was to look into the Summit/Vega magnet programs. By December 2000 the Summit/Vega Committee had completed its work and unanimously approved its recommendations. The Consolidation Committee was continuing its discussions, and although no final decision had been made, the consensus was that a bond election would definitely be required with possible figures ranging from \$58 million to \$174 million.³⁹

While conducting a periodic review of the district, the Justice Department toured the district's facilities and met with PAISD officials on September 25-29, 2000. Justice reported that the district had not complied with its legal obligation for the closing of one high school once enrollment reached 2,800. In addition, PAISD had violated the spirit of the order by altering and manipulating school capacities without court approval and without proper consideration of desegregation concerns. The Justice Department also noted that the requirement to enforce zone lines had not always been respected by the district and several transfers had been approved without proper documentation.⁴⁰

The Justice Department was most critical of Wilson Middle School because it had been maintained as a sub-standard facility and allowed to deteriorate to a deplorable state. According to Justice, the school's condition was evidence of the district's failure to live up to its desegregation responsibilities. While some cosmetic improvements had been made before the Justice Department's visit, the efforts could not hide the years of obvious neglect. When federal officials inquired about rank odors in the basement, they were told that the smell could not be removed without replacing the bathroom floors

because the odors had been allowed to seep into the tiles. Wilson was also supposed to be converted to a magnet school to attract an integrated student body. Instead, a magnet program had been implemented, keeping Summit students largely segregated from the general Wilson student population and minimizing the magnet's impact on integrating the school, which resulted in the school remaining ninety percent black.⁴¹

The Citizens' Task Force submitted its final report on March 15, 2001. The Summit/Vega Committee recommended the discontinuation of Summit II and III as desegregation tools primarily because they were not cost effective. Instead, the committee proposed to merge the best aspects of and adequately fund Summit II and III, thus providing an expanded accelerated program. The Consolidation Committee recommended: one high school, two middle schools, one combination elementary/middle school, two intermediate schools, and six elementary schools. Also recommended was the closure of Lamar, Sims, and Wheatley.⁴²

As plans for high school consolidation began to develop, residents of the Port Acres area of the district became increasingly upset. Eager to save their local high school, they formed two groups – the Port Acres Concerned Citizens for Better Education and the Port Arthur Social Justice Committee. Most parents in Port Acres wanted the district to seek a modification of the desegregation order to allow all three high schools to remain open. In support of their position, they cited numerous studies showing that smaller neighborhood schools offered better educational opportunities to at-risk students.⁴³

In May, Port Acres resident Chris Underhill complained to the school board that the task force had been “stacked all along” and that only two trustees had made a genuine effort to appoint a diverse group of individuals to the Consolidation Committee. He added that the decision had been rushed because of an unrealistic deadline, and he alleged that citizen input had been limited. Although the committee presumably wanted to hear from local residents, it had nonetheless restricted “two-way communication” at the meetings. Finally, Underhill concluded that the recommendation was not “student-centered.” Thus, he announced his opposition to any bond issue. Obviously unswayed by Underhill's remarks, trustees voted five-to-two to accept the task force's recommendations, subject to approval by the Justice Department.⁴⁴

The PAISD school board met on Monday July 30, 2001, to vote on the submission of the consolidation plan. The five trustees present all voted to submit the plan to the Justice Department, thereby setting the course to move the district from three high schools to one by August 2002. A letter from absent trustee Mattie Londow registered her opposition to the plan because it sought to change the district from the top down. She advocated reorganizing attendance zones and campus use from the bottom up. Trustee Willie Mae Elmore agreed that the transition plan was not perfect, but believed that it provided a good starting point for dialogue between the board and the Justice Department.⁴⁵

Negotiations between PAISD and the Justice Department began in

October 2001. Justice approved the portion of the district's plan to consolidate its high schools and subsequently filed a motion with the district court. The joint decree was approved by the PAISD trustees by a five-to-two vote, with trustees Samuels and Londow again dissenting. In accordance with the decree, the district was required to select a new name for the high school with a new mascot and color scheme. PAISD was also to develop a plan for recognizing and honoring the history of each of the existing high schools within the newly consolidated high school. Furthermore, the district was required to retain an outside expert with training and expertise in the education of diverse populations to provide mandatory sensitivity training to the faculty and staff.⁴⁶

On October 15, 2001, attorneys filed three motions on behalf of the residents living in the Port Acres area. The first asked that they be allowed to intervene in the lawsuit by becoming a plaintiff; the second requested a temporary restraining order to delay the implementation of the plan; and the third sought a permanent injunction against the plan. At a hearing on November 2, 2001, Port Acres parents testified that the current proposal would lead to "burdensome busing, devalue the city's property, and create a high school too large for students to thrive."⁴⁷ However, the court decided that the plan proposed by PAISD would advance desegregation and further the goal of a unitary school system, and so the motion presented by the residents of Port Acres was denied. The court did not consider itself a proper forum for a rematch between proponents and opponents of consolidation.⁴⁸

Following the court's approval of consolidation, several Port Acres parents transferred their children out of PAISD. By February 2002 twenty-five students had gone to the neighboring Sabine Pass district. Dr. Louis Reed, PAISD interim superintendent, noted that the district lost \$4,250 for each student who transferred. Thus, the students who had gone to Sabine Pass cost the district \$106,250. By August 2002 eighty-one students had transferred to the Sabine Pass district, costing PAISD \$300,000, and thirty-five other students had gone to the Erhart School of Fine Arts, a charter school in Beaumont, at a cost of \$75,000 to Port Arthur.⁴⁹

With the high school matter settled, PAISD turned to the remaining schools. Its plan for them called for dividing the campuses into elementary, intermediate, and middle schools. Overall, the plan would move fifty-six percent of students in pre-kindergarten through the seventh-grade to new schools by fall 2002. This was submitted to the Justice Department on March 1, 2002.⁵⁰ Two months later the Justice Department expressed serious concerns because desegregation was not adequately considered. According to Justice, the district's plan would actually increase the number of racially identifiable schools from three to five. The plan would also increase transportation burdens significantly by assigning pre-kindergarten through eighth-grade students to four schools as opposed to two schools under the district's current plan. The Justice Department believed that these transportation burdens would be borne disproportionately by African Americans. For these reasons, the Justice Department rejected the proposal.⁵¹

Justice Department officials visited Port Arthur in June 2002 and made recommendations for further desegregating the district. These recommendations included altering attendance zones, closing schools, and continuing the Summit magnet program at Washington Elementary. Furthermore, Justice suggested retaining the four Head Start Centers and other pre-kindergarten programs, and relocating the district's alternative school to the Austin campus.⁵²

Residents of the Port Acres area were once again upset with the suggestions of the Justice Department. The two major complaints were the relocation of the alternative school to Austin and the busing of middle school students to Austin. According to Reed, PAISD had had no input in the plan created by Justice. The district's attorney, Melody Thomas, stated that the Justice Department had not considered academic plans, financial constraints, or community desires of PAISD. The Justice Department countered that it had offered only suggestions.⁵³

On June 24 PAISD presented its new plan for reorganization, which contained features of both the Justice Department and district plans. To alleviate overcrowding at Lee Elementary, attendance zones would be altered and students sent to Travis and DeQueen schools. The magnet program at Wilson Middle School would be eliminated as well. PAISD opted to leave Dowling and Pease schools closed, moving those students to the Austin campus to create a pre-kindergarten through eighth-grade school. District officials rejected the Justice Department's suggestion to move students from the alternative center to Austin, sending those students instead to a separate campus at an undecided location.⁵⁴

In order to implement the new plan, PAISD officials proposed an \$89 million bond issue to meet its financial needs. The bond proposal addressed only facility needs and did not provide funding in other areas of school operation, such as teachers' salaries, recruiting, and curriculum development. Included in the bond were the rebuilding of DeQueen Elementary and Lee Elementary, the closure of Wheatley, and expanding Memorial High School to accommodate ninth through twelfth grades. All other buildings would be renovated. Trustees voted five-to-zero to accept the bond proposal and scheduled the bond election for February 1, 2003.⁵⁵

The Justice Department again expressed reservations about the district's plan, contending that it failed to promote desegregation. It was apparent, said Justice, that desegregation had not been adequately considered during the development of the bond proposal. Thus, the Justice Department had no choice but to consider opposing implementation of the bond proposal. Justice recognized the district's need for additional funding, but that did not absolve the district of its responsibility to meet federal standards on desegregation. The Justice Department made several suggestions to alter the district's plan to promote desegregation to the fullest extent within PAISD. Trustees voted five-to-one to approve the alternative proposal set forth by Justice.⁵⁶

On February 1, 2003, the bond proposal was defeated by 131 votes. While voter turnout was low and the division close in most areas, the largest

and most decisive reaction came from Port Acres, whose residents voted 607-113 against the bond issue. An editorial in the *Port Arthur News* quoted a jubilant Chris Underhill, who declared that Port Acres' parents had demonstrated that PAISD would never force them to "lower their standards." Moreover, Underhill urged board members to seek immediate reconciliation with Port Arthur's "equally oppressed but loyal West Side community." Due to the failure of the bond issue, the district court dismissed the consolidation plans that it would have financed.⁵⁷

Although the court dismissed the motion for consolidation, the motion of the district to attain unitary status was unaffected. PAISD cited changes in the racial makeup of the district's students since the case had begun in 1970. In the 1969-1970 school year, of the district's 16,511 students, 57.6 percent were white and 42.4 percent black. For the 2002-2003 school year there were 10,542 students, of which 8.2 percent were white, 56.4 percent black, 27.7 percent Hispanic, and 7.7 percent Asian. Furthermore, the motion stated that since the filing of the original lawsuit, removal of all vestiges of racial segregation in student assignment, faculty employment, and other relevant areas had long been accomplished. None of the district's campuses were more than 50 percent white and only two schools had more than thirty percent white students.⁵⁸

PAISD officials and representatives from the Justice Department finally reached an agreement on March 20, 2003. The plan included reopening Dowling Elementary as a pre-kindergarten through fifth-grade campus, adding a middle school at Austin Elementary, moving the Summit II program from Wilson to Austin, and adjusting attendance zones among Lee, Travis, and DeQueen elementary schools. The final plan was submitted to the school board and unanimously approved on March 27, 2003. On May 6, 2003, District Judge Thad Heartfield signed the decree approving the district's plan, which declared that PAISD was successfully desegregated in its transportation, facility construction, and extracurricular activities. The district still needed to desegregate the areas of student and faculty assignments and funding.⁵⁹

Once again PAISD had to come up with funding for the much-needed improvements. Beginning in November 2003 the district established a committee to work on a new bond package. At a meeting on January 8, 2004, to assess district needs, the school board made curriculum and facility improvements the top priorities. The maximum cost of the bond issue was set at \$110 million and was divided into three propositions. Proposition 1 was for \$10 million to refinance an existing loan. Proposition 2 would provide \$43 million to rebuild Lee and DeQueen elementary schools and construct a new early childhood center. The final proposition would allocate \$57 million for a new high school to be built at a new location.⁶⁰

To achieve the passage of the new bond package, PAISD officials made a concerted effort to publicize the need of the bond and to explain in detail how the money would be used. The bond election was held on May 15, 2004, and all three propositions passed. Although opposed to the previous bond issue, the NAACP Port Arthur Branch was in favor of the new election, citing new lead-

ership and better planning. The Port Arthur Chamber of Commerce and the Golden Triangle Hispanic Chamber of Commerce also were in support of the new bond package. Once again the two groups from Port Acres were against the bond. Although the members agreed that a bond was needed, they worried about problems associated with transportation and parental involvement. They also criticized the way the bond was put together, noting that a demographer was not used to help with the plans.⁶¹ Regardless of the opposition, PAISD now has the funding to begin renovating the district's facilities and improving its educational environment.

To achieve unitary status in 2005, PAISD must continue to make the best decisions for the children of its community. The board of trustees must also recognize the great importance of its role and afford all children an opportunity to receive a quality education and to create an educational system that is responsive to multiple cultures and to families with fewer economic resources. Furthermore, the board should work together as a whole and with the community to achieve such a system and since the citizens of Port Arthur tend to reelect the same board members, they should support board decisions. The graduates of Port Arthur will be the leaders of the future and should have every opportunity to reach academic excellence. PAISD appears to be making progress, but, given its long history of segregation, vestiges of separate-but-equal may linger for some time.

NOTES

¹*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

²*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483.

³*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

⁴John W. Storey, "Port Arthur, Texas," *The Handbook of Texas Online*. <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles.html>; accessed on January 4, 2004; "History of Port Arthur," at City of Port Arthur, Texas http://www.portarthur.net/city_profile.cfm; accessed on April 27, 2004.

⁵U.S. Census, 1950.

⁶Storey, "Port Arthur, Texas."

⁷*Port Arthur News*, May 18, 1954, p. 1.

⁸PAISD School Board Meeting Minutes, June 12, 1956, pp. 230-231.

⁹PAISD School Board Minutes, June 12, 1956, pp. 230-231.

¹⁰Article 2900a of Revised Civil Statutes of Texas.

¹¹PAISD School Board Meeting Minutes, August 13, 1957, pp. 179-180.

¹²Will Wilson, Opinion No. WW-1490, *Texas Attorney General's Opinions*, 1962, *Opinions Nos. 1232-1518*, 45. In *Boson v. Rippey*, 285 Fed. 2d. 43 (1960), the district court expressed the opinion that the holding of an election under 2900a should not be made a condition of a plan of desegregation.

¹³PAISD School Board Minutes, July 9, 1963, p. 84.

¹⁴PAISD School Board Minutes, February 9, 1965, pp. 214-215.

¹⁵PAISD School Board Minutes, August 12, 1965, p. 89.

¹⁶PAISD School Board Minutes, August 12, 1964, p. 89.

¹⁷PAISD School Board Minutes, June 18, 1968, p. 117.

¹⁸PAISD School Board Minutes, August 20, 1968, p. 132.

¹⁹*Port Arthur News*, August 16, 1968, p. 1.

²⁰PAISD School Board Minutes, August 19, 1968, p. 161.

²¹*United States v. Texas Education Agency, et al.*, (*Port Arthur Independent School District*), No. 81-2257 (5th Cir. 1982), 3295; 42 U.S.C. § 2000c-6 authorized the United States Attorney General to institute federal law suits against public school districts not in compliance with United States segregation mandates. Before the severance, the Carthage, Elysian Fields, Jefferson, Lufkin, San Augustine, and Sulphur Springs school districts joined PAISD as defendants.

²²*United States v. Texas Education Agency, et al.*

²³PAISD School Board Meeting Minutes, September 24, 1970, p. 182.

²⁴Dolores Williams, interview by the author, Port Arthur, Texas, November 24, 2003.

²⁵*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

²⁶*Lee v. Tuscaloosa City School System*, 576 F. 2d 39 (5th Cir. 1978).

²⁷Kaydell Wright to Richard I. oDestro, October 26, 1979, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

²⁸*United States v. Texas Education Agency, et al.*

²⁹PAISD School Board Minutes, March 12, 1980, p. 409; April 24, 1980, p. 423.

³⁰PAISD School Board Minutes, June 23, 1980, p. 443.

³¹PAISD School Board Minutes, June 23, 1980, p. 443.

³²*United States of America v. Texas Education Agency, et al.*

³³Banker Phares to Joe Pitts, August 18, 1982, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

³⁴*United States of America v. Texas Education Agency et al.*

³⁵Nathaniel Douglas to Banker Phares, January 3, 1982, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

³⁶*United States of America v. Texas Education Agency et al.*, p. 3301.

³⁷*Port Arthur News*, May 19, 1994, p. 1a.

³⁸Port Arthur Independent School District TPR Report, Chapter 2, May 1998.

³⁹Task Force Report, Desegregation Records of PAISD, December 12, 2000.

⁴⁰Ross Wiener to Melody Thomas, January 2, 2001, pp. 3-4, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

⁴¹Wiener to Thomas, January 2, 2001, pp. 5-7.

⁴²Citizens' Task Force Final Report, Desegregation Records of PAISD, March 15, 2001, pp. 1-6.

⁴³PAISD School Board Minutes, February 22, 2001, p. 333.

⁴⁴PAISD School Board Minutes, May 24, 2001, p. 373.

⁴⁵PAISD School Board Minutes, July 30, 2001, p. 427; *Beaumont Enterprise*, October 11, 2001, p. 1A.

⁴⁶PAISD School Board Minutes, October 11, 2001, p. 459; Joint Motion for Approval and Entry of Consent Decree, October 12, 2001, pp. 8-10, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

⁴⁷Memorandum Opinion and Order Denying Intervention and Granting Motion for Entry of Consent Decree, December 12, 2001, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

⁴⁸Memorandum Opinion and Order, December 12, 2001, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

⁴⁹*Beaumont Enterprise*, August 11, 2002, p. 1A.

⁵⁰PAISD School Board Minutes, February 28, 2002, p. 546.

⁵¹Wiener to Thomas, May 1, 2002, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

⁵²PAISD School Board Minutes, June 11, 2002.

⁵³*Beaumont Enterprise*, June 22, 2002, p. 4A; Wiener to Thomas, June 19, 2002, Desegregation Records of PAISD.

⁵⁴PAISD School Board Minutes, June 27, 2002, pp. 628-632.

⁵⁵PAISD School Board Minutes, December 2, 2002, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁶Andy Liu to Thomas, December 24, 2002, Desegregation Records of PAISD; PAISD School Board Minutes, January 6, 2002, pp. 90-100.

⁵⁷*Beaumont Enterprise*, February 5, 2003, p. 14A; *Port Arthur News*, February 10, 2003, p. 5A.

⁵⁸Ethnic Distribution Information, 1969-1970, 2002-2003, Desegregation Records of PAISD. If the district could attain unitary status, it would no longer need the Justice Department's approval for items such as bond issues or attendance zone changes.

⁵⁹*Beaumont Enterprise*, March 21, 2003, p. 12A; March 29, 2003, p. 10A; May 7, 2003, p. 1A.

⁶⁰Bond Proposal of PAISD, Financial Records of PAISD, January 2004.

⁶¹*Beaumont Enterprise*, May 18, 2004, p. 9A.

“WE WANT AGGIES, NOT MAGGIES:”**JAMES EARL RUDDER AND THE COEDUCATION OF
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY**

By Christopher Bean

In 1930, when twenty-year old James Earl Rudder enrolled at A&M College of Texas, two Texas institutions converged for the first time – one already established, the other yet to be. For the next four decades, through depression, a world conflagration, and post war uncertainty, an unbreakable bond remained. Late in the 1950s Rudder returned to the school as its president, a second convergence that proved a blessing to the college, because just on the horizon awaited one of the most trying times in the long history of A&MC – the 1960s. With leadership, discipline, and vision, Rudder guided the school through this most turbulent of times. Prior to Rudder’s tenure, A&M was an all-male, segregated, provincial military school. Afterward, it became one of the Southwest’s premier educational institutions. Although aided and assisted by other administrators and faculty, Rudder remains the seminal figure in this transition.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas opened its doors in 1876 with a class of 106 students. The school began as an all-male military institution with compulsory participation in the Corps of Cadets, an organization that became the most visible symbol of the school and one that played an integral role in its initial growth. The school consequently developed a strong military character. It regularly commissioned more officers than any of the service academies, including West Point. Former students achieved outstanding records in all of the country’s wars from the Spanish-American War to the present. More than 20,000 former students served during World War II, twenty-nine of them at the rank of general.¹

After the First World War, the A&MC experienced rapid growth and became recognized for its programs in agriculture, engineering, and veterinary and military sciences. The college even branched out, establishing complexes throughout the state. These changes resulted in the organization of limited graduate degree programs by 1936. Driving this growth was the discovery of oil on state lands during the 1920s. Beginning in 1931, A&M received one-third of the income derived from the state’s Permanent University Fund. These oil revenues kept costs and tuition down and spurred enrollment growth even during the Great Depression. By the 1950s, A&M College confronted many new challenges: changing population dynamics; decreasing enrollment; and developing fissures between the student body and faculty. “[At this time] Texas A&M confronted change without really changing,” wrote historian Henry C. Dethloff, while another historian argued that this was a time of “turmoil, unrest, and lack of progress; indeed, the institution appeared to be in retrogression, with loss of student members, and agitation among the faculty and the student body.”²

Despite this situation, no leader pushed for change. Various issues loomed ahead for not only the school, but also for the nation as a whole. Co-education, racial integration, curricular and administrative changes, elective military training, and the admission of civilian students were topics that the college would have to address soon. Furthermore, with explosive growth in the state's population, concerns about a broader university complex and a focus on research and academics surfaced. The future of the college depended on how the administration approached these matters.³

This was the situation that faced James Earl Rudder when he arrived as vice-president of the college early in 1958. Born on May 6, 1910, in Eden (Concho County), Rudder was one of thirteen children. From his father he received an indelible work ethic and from his mother a moral compass. After excelling at football for two years at John Tarleton Agricultural College, Rudder transferred to A&MC in 1930, where for the next two years he helped anchor the offensive line for the Aggie football team. After a brief stint coaching at Brady High School, where he met his future wife, Margaret Williamson, and at Tarleton College, Rudder was called to active military duty in the summer of 1941. For the next year or so, he moved from one assignment to another, advancing to company commander at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and executive officer and Army component operations staff officer (G-3) for the 83rd Infantry Division. In the summer of 1943, Rudder received orders giving him command of the 2nd Ranger Battalion.⁴

During the D-Day landings on June 6, 1944, "Rudder's Rangers" scaled the one-hundred-foot Pointe-du-Hoc cliffs and destroyed a German battery that threatened the landing. After the war, General Omar Bradley remarked "No soldier in my command has ever been wished a more difficult task than that which befell James Earl Rudder." In November 1944, Rudder received orders reassigning him to the 109th Infantry Regiment, 29th Infantry Division. Army brass wanted Rudder to transform the 109th as he had the Rangers. Eight days after he took command, the Germans launched what would become the Battle of the Bulge. In spite of the suddenness of the attack, Rudder led the 109th through the battle admirably. By war's end, Rudder had received every military decoration except the Congressional Medal of Honor. After the war, he served as vice president of labor relations for the Brady Aviation Company and three terms as mayor of Brady. While mayor, Rudder befriended several powerful men, including future president Lyndon B. Johnson and Governor Allan Shivers. In 1955 Governor Shivers appointed Rudder Texas Land Commissioner in order to clean up the corrupt mess left by Bascom Giles. With the land commissioner's office restored to its proper place, Rudder, realizing that his work was completed, decided to accept the position of vice president of A&MC.⁵

The title of vice-president made Rudder the principal administrator of the college. Marion Thomas Harrington held the joint title of president of the college and of the college system, but Rudder was, in effect, the real "president." Harrington's position was more like that of chancellor at a modern university system. Regardless of his impressive accomplishments in public service,

Rudder appeared to be a questionable choice for the position. “[M]ost academic people counted him at best an ‘unlikely’ candidate to head a major university,” wrote one historian of the school. “Rudder gave every appearance of being an Aggie of the old school, with old-school ties, loyalties, traditions, and basic conservatism. A university in the throes of change, many anticipated, would not be helped along the way by such a man as Earl Rudder.” He had reservations about taking the job for this reason. According to his wife, Rudder believed that the “academics” would resent him because he was not one of them.⁶

Prior to Rudder’s arrival, the first salvos on several major issues that he would face had already been fired. An internecine conflict had erupted over compulsory military training. In 1957 President David W. Williams, at the request of the board of directors, distributed a questionnaire among the faculty seeking opinions on a variety of policy questions, one of which pertained to compulsory military training. In spite of the faculty’s vote (forty-nine to one in favor of optional military training) school officials retained compulsory military training for freshmen and sophomores. The conflict soon became public. What made this quarrel significant was that it involved nearly every constituent body of the university – the president, chancellor, board of directors, and the faculty – plus outside forces such as state officials and local merchants.⁷

The question of coeducation crept into the discussion, and soon the two issues became one. This inevitably brought the student body, which generally held views completely opposite those of administrators, into campus politics. Joe Tindel, editor of the school newspaper *Battalion*, advocated the admission of women to the college. The *Bryan Daily Eagle*, concurring with Tindel, editorialized, “The world changes and A&M must change with it.” The student senate, however, voted eleven to five in favor of a resolution calling for Tindel’s resignation. The dispute became violent when William Boyd Metts, creator of the Aggie Association for the Advancement of Coeducation, was hospitalized after inhaling fumes from a bomb thrown into his room. The controversy expanded when several women filed suit against the college in 1958 and 1959, asking to be admitted into the school. The cases reached the state supreme court and, in one instance, the United States Supreme Court. Both courts, however, refused to hear the case. With each new chapter in the saga, one newspaper noticed that the school appeared to be “redividing like a swirling amoeba.”⁸

In an interview with the *College Station Battalion*, Rudder described his position on the issue. “[T]he decision is in keeping with the Board of Directors’ desire – it is my job to run A&M as the Board wants it to run,” he replied. When the interviewer asked Rudder about the future, he retorted, “I don’t have a crystal ball.” As a result, Rudder was labeled as wanting to retain the “old school” in spite of changing times. In reality, his authority was limited by the board of directors; rather than dictating policy, he was implementing that of the board.⁹

In a sense Rudder was “old school.” He was sympathetic to the college that he remembered—all male and military. Now he was an administrator, partly responsible for the day-to-day activities and future policy of the school,

and like any good leader, he did what was best, even if that contradicted his personal prejudices and attitudes.

Almost unnoticed and with little fanfare, Rudder was named president of Texas A&M on July 1, 1959, when Harrington advanced to the position of chancellor. With this promotion, Rudder gained authority and a proximity to the board that he had lacked as vice-president. Now he was "at the helm" with the power and influence to take the school in the direction he desired. Rudder could "batten down the hatches" against the coeducation advocates or accept that the time for coeducation at the college had come. But with the position came sole responsibility for those policy decisions. With the spotlight on him, Rudder was in his element.

On March 26, 1960, when he was inaugurated, Rudder did not directly address the coeducational issue, although he did mention how the school was to provide the young *men* of Texas the greatest of benefits. Instead, he stressed the role of A&M College in the history and future development of Texas and the nation. Rudder also addressed the need for the school to lead the charge in a nation relying ever more heavily on technology, one in which an increasingly higher percentage of people attended college. "This is now the responsibility of our nation," he declared. "It soon will pass to our children. Their ability to assume the task is in no small measure dependent upon the availability to them of higher education, and its quality." He added that the United States needed to redirect its priorities, considering that it spent more on cigarettes, recreation, liquor, and legalized gambling than on education. "The crucial question is whether we will or not," he said. "It will be expensive. Modern education facilities come high; research is especially costly. Our nation can afford it; to survive, we must afford it. We can spend our money for no finer, more fruitful or more deserving endeavor."¹⁰

Rudder then began the task of mending the wounds of the prior years while trying to pilot the school in its academic development. Many on the faculty and staff believed that Rudder would fail. These individuals underestimated him. If they had known Rudder, they would have realized that in all previous assignments he had succeeded in tense and complex situations. "James Earl Rudder was a fighter who never quit anything until it was finished," remarked one observer. "As many have said since, he turned out to be the right man in the right place at the right time."¹¹

Rudder began to quiet the tumultuous situation. In a measure "to define challenges and opportunities anticipated in the future," he and the board of directors authorized a long-range planning study of the college. "This is an event which is an important milestone in the history of A&M College," declared Rudder. The project began in 1961 under the title "Century Study." It called for the participation of practically everyone involved with the university. Rudder asked participants to keep four questions in mind: What kind of graduate and citizen should this college seek to produce? What should be the mission of A&M College during the next fifteen years? To what degree of academic excellence shall they aspire? What should be the scope and size of the school by 1976? Members were told not to "reflect in your report existing tra-

ditions or policy." We must, concluded Rudder, let "success fully plan the future of this great institution and effectively project these plans to the citizens we serve."¹²

As he had done on previous occasions, Rudder looked to those who knew more about the situation than he did. Rather than believing that he had all the answers, he sought everyone's opinion and assessment of a problem before he implemented a solution. This was one of the reasons that he was such an effective leader. Rudder entered into a situation knowing that in order to solve problems he had to have the cooperation of the "frontline troops" – those who had been there from the beginning. To obtain this cooperation, Rudder needed his subordinates' confidence and respect. Rudder made them understand that their opinions mattered.

The college evaluation initiated by Rudder resulted in four independent studies. The Century Council, comprising one hundred outstanding citizens from more than 1,200 applicants (some alumni, others not), produced the *Report of the Century Council*. The report sought "to determine those structural and program modifications which would enable the [college] to achieve a position of state, national, international prominence among universities of higher learning and make recommendations." Many of the council's findings were vague, however – the council recommended a "greater emphasis on excellence," for example. The group also recommended that the ROTC program "currently in effect at the college be continued," noting that leaders "produced under this program are of inestimable value to our state and nation." Because the average A&M College student scored slightly below the national average on the college entrance exam, the study advocated a "continuous study of selective admissions policy." The group referred the matter of coeducation to the board. Remarking on its "divided opinion," the council members believed that "the Board will make a wise and effective disposition of this matter."¹³

In another self-study, administrators and faculty produced the *Report to Commission on Colleges, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools*. This report was for the school's major accrediting association. While the other reports issued recommendations pertaining to the student body, curriculum, and school administrators and faculty, this study focused on improving the college's physical facilities. The report proposed a \$55 million construction program to build or improve facilities for engineering, biochemistry, oceanography, and meteorology programs, as well as a student center, improved library facilities, a data processing center, and a TV closed-circuit studio.¹⁴

A committee of faculty and staff also produced a study entitled *Faculty-Staff-Student Study on Aspirations*. "The recommendations of the general report," remarked one historian, "are important in view of what came to be." In addition to suggesting a tenure policy for faculty that conformed to those used at other schools, higher salaries for higher professional ranks, and annual salary increments, the report also recommended merit raises. It recommended other moves to attract and retain faculty, including improved physical facilities, the development of a graduate school, higher admissions standards, endowed faculty chairs, and changing the name of the institution "to foster and

maintain a university image." The study further proposed an "end to compulsory military training and all-male admissions policy." According to the report, the Corps of Cadets took precedence over all other aspects of student life, "determining habits, attitudes and ambitions." Furthermore, the school's military emphasis "limited the true pursuit of scholarship and the development of an environment which will contribute to this scholarship." The emphasis on military training caused potential students to select other schools. The group recommended that military training be voluntary for all students, that the Corps no longer exist as a residential organization, and that an adult director reside in each unit.¹⁵

Treading on the very foundations of A&M College traditions, this report came as a surprise to some, particularly Rudder. But, as he himself had stated, he wanted honest and candid answers. According to rumors his first reaction to the *Faculty-Staff-Student Study on Aspirations* "was a loud exclamation followed by tossing the report into the garbage can." Rudder personally supported the traditions of A&M College, including the all-male admission policy and compulsory military training. What really matters, however, was not his reaction to the study or his personal biases about coeducation or compulsory military service, but rather his ability to set aside such beliefs and "do what needed to be done." He took action when others had resisted or hesitated.¹⁶

"It [the report] helped to define Rudder's job," said one historian. "Rudder meant to finish the job." He and the board accepted almost all of the findings of the various studies and published them in a summary report entitled *Blueprint for Success*. Despite being broad in its context, "the meaning, purposes, and importance [of the report] ... cannot be overestimated in its significance" to the development of the university. They "charged all members of the faculty and staff of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, in whatever capacity they may serve, that their watchword and goal shall be *excellence* [emphasis in original]." In spite of the enormous expenditures, most of the building projects proposed were completed before the centennial and faculty salaries were increased without raising tuition. Enrollment doubled, exceeding 16,000 by 1972.

In conjunction with these changes, two other notable transitions also occurred under Rudder's tenure at the college – the school became coeducational and its name was changed to Texas A&M University.¹⁷ On April 28, 1963, with support from Rudder, the board unanimously voted that eligible women "would be admitted into graduate programs and veterinary medicines as day students," effective June 1, 1963. The admission of women was on a limited basis for undergraduate courses, however. In addition to the normal requirements for admission, the woman had to be a wife or daughter of an enrolled student, faculty, or staff member. Numerous individuals and organizations favored the move. Some openly displayed their approval of the decision, but others expressed their support covertly – afraid of ostracism and retaliation. "The [decision] proves that the college fathers are willing to act in an objective manner not motivated by tradition for tradition's sake," applauded an editorial in the local paper. "With the board operating in a flexible man-

ner attuned to the changing world we live in Texas A&M is well on its way to the excellence sought by school officials." Another proponent appealed to the proper sensibilities of the men of the school and the state. "It's about time they had some coeds there and started having a little fun," he said. "It might help out football recruiting!" Nevertheless, for many, including members of the Corps, this fight was not over.¹⁹

In the fall of 1963, fifteen women enrolled. They had to sign a contract stating that they would withdraw if the new policy was reversed. By spring 1964, 183 women had enrolled, and Stella Haupt, the first woman to enroll under the new policy, earned an M.A. degree that fall. A year later, the number of women enrolled had nearly doubled to 321. At long last, the college was coeducational. But for critics of coeducation, Rudder was in their "cross-hairs as the prime culprit."¹⁹

Rudder and his associates in the college's administration expected the firestorm of criticism and the fears about what the admission meant to the Corps, perhaps even its continued existence. Some feared the abolition of the football team. Rudder realized that his decision would be unpopular among some groups, and that admitting women was a policy that he would have to sell to the students and alumni. The president of the board of directors, Sterling C. Evans, wrote to the Association of Former Students explaining the decision. Evans stated that the board had no intention of making the college an "all-out coed institution." Evans noted, "The admission of women will not bring sudden or drastic change to the school." Nor did he foresee any changes to the Corps, which was the real issue to many of the critics.²⁰

To address this concern, Rudder called a meeting of the entire Corps at G. Rollie White Coliseum in April 1963. He informed the crowd of more than 4,000 that the board had absolute authority on this and other matters. Greeted with chants of "We don't want to integrate" accompanied by boos and hisses, Rudder nevertheless explained his position: "If we had not voted to admit women to our school of veterinarian medicine, many students would go to Texas Tech." When asked about effects of the policy on the Corps of Cadets, Rudder replied, "If the Corps of Cadets does what it stands for, its future is bright."²¹

Some in the audience grudgingly accepted the argument, but many of the cadets did not. For had those who booed and hissed really thought about it, they would have remembered that James Earl Rudder was a former member of the *Corps of Cadets* and *old soldier*. He was solidly in favor of the Corps, but he realized that many students who wanted to study at Texas A&M simply did not want to join the Corps. Rudder would never allow a decision or policy to undermine one of the most cherished and storied traditions of the school, especially one so dear to his heart. Despite the justifiable arguments and concerns, he realized the Corps benefited from coeducation.²²

Those opposed to the decision engaged in the loudest and most obstreperous behavior. "I'm 54 years old and I still like girls," opined one graduate, "but not at A&M." "Big mistake," remarked another critic. Another found a Biblical precedent for not admitting women. "We men know how to appreciate, love and honor our women," he declared, "but we know also what a fix Eve got us in the

Garden of Eden. Let us not let that happen at A&M." Several opposition groups formed in response to the decision, including the Committee for an All-Male Military Texas A&M and the Senior Committee for the Preservation of Texas A&M. The Committee for an All-Male Military Texas A&M "marched" on the state capital to oppose coeducation. Chanting "We want Aggies, Not Maggies," and claiming women would halt the program of excellence at the school, over 300 members of the Corps, along with several representatives of the A&M Mothers' Club and Aggie-Exes, gathered in the rotunda as State Representative Will L. Smith submitted an anti-coeducation resolution. In addition, one senator submitted a resolution that threatened to cut off state funds if the school admitted women. Despite overwhelming passage in the House of Representatives of a resolution requiring the state to maintain one major university for men and one for women, a senate filibuster killed the resolutions.²³

The Senior Committee for the Preservation of Texas A&M initiated an intense letter writing campaign to enlist support for their cause. One editor who was solicited for his support noted the futility of it all. He stated that this was

a cause every bit as worthy as impeaching Earl Warren or repealing the income tax – and with about the same chance of success, which is a big fat zero. Still, the fool-hardy valor of its adherents . . . commands the same sort of admiration which generations have felt for Giacomo Casablanca, the boy who 'stood on the burning deck, whence all but he had fled; the flame that lit the battle's wreck, shone 'round him o'er the dead.' Giacomo wound up fricasseed, and so, I fear, will the 'no coeds in Aggie-land' alumni. You can't fight city hall or the board of directors. Besides, I'm a subscriber to the theory that there is nothing like a dame.²⁴

In 1965, A&M's board of directors authorized President Rudder to use his discretion in the admission of women. This had the "overall effect of completely ending the prohibition on coeducation." The full admittance of women, however, happened with little of the bitterness and emotion present a few years earlier—in part because many of the fears never materialized, in part because the country had changed.²⁵

Rudder's prediction that admitting women would be a positive change also contributed to the lack of animosity. He repeatedly told students and alumni that the admission of women would strengthen, rather than undermine, the foundations and traditions of the school. Much of the student population believed coeducation beneficial rather than detrimental. In a student poll in 1965, sixty-three percent favored unlimited coeducation over a return to the all-male policy. As a result of Rudder's "discretionary powers," more applications were approved, and by the fall of 1969, applicants "who could meet the same academic qualifications as men were being admitted." By 1971, the administration admitted women on an equal basis with men. In 1971, 1,700 women attended the school. By 1980 that number had increased to more than 12,000. By 2006, women made up half of the student body at the school and held many positions in the university believed out of reach for women only a few decades ago.²⁶

Even the Corps, the most cherished of the school's institutions, was not

immune to change. In 1965 compulsory enrollment in the Corps was abolished in favor of a volunteer system. By 1970 only a quarter of the student body remained in the Corps. Four years later, it was opened to women. About fifty women were organized into an all-female unit. The members were called "Waggies." The change made the Corps stronger, but its exuberance and discipline were undiminished. The group had become an "even more elite and selective organization by virtue of its volunteer status." In the end, none of the fears associated with the admission of women came to fruition. The traditions, except female exclusion, remained. "The old school, and the old fraternity, did not die," wrote one historian, "instead they merely changed their complexion." Many of the school's traditions — reveille, Silver Taps, Aggie Muster, and others — remained part of the vibrant spirit of the school.²⁷

With little fanfare or turmoil, Rudder also presided over racial integration at Texas A&M in the fall of 1964. The lack of resistance to integration was atypical of other Southern universities, but A&M was an atypical Southern university. Although located in the "more Southern" part of the state, the university differed from other institutions because of its focus on the military. Blacks did not threaten nor offend the social sensibilities at Texas A&M—women represented the *real* threat. The military traditions and structure of the school epitomized masculinity. The admission of minority men never threatened to change the fabric of the school.²⁸

By the end of the 1960s the old college had become a new, vibrant, energetic institution with a bright future. With each passing year, women and minorities became more important to the university. Enrollment increases shattered all projections and to accommodate that growth numerous construction projects were completed. And Rudder led the university throughout this remarkable transformation. "[H]e was constantly in the middle of it," wrote one historian. "He never spared himself. He was tough, but fair. Usually congenial, he could be abrasive if he thought it would help. He held an open mind, and would act on advice contrary to his own preconceived ideas when it appeared that such advice was better informed. He was a forthright, vigorous man, whose integrity, personal honor, and dedication were unquestioned."²⁹

In January 1970, while at his home, Rudder suffered a partial stroke and was rushed to a local hospital. In his absence, three vice-presidents shared the responsibilities of administering the Texas A&M University system. Doctors transferred Rudder to a hospital in Houston when it appeared at first to be a heart ailment turned out to be a cerebral hemorrhage. To stop the bleeding, physicians operated to remove a blood clot. After improving briefly, Rudder took a turn for the worse. The stress of the operation and the hemorrhage caused a stomach ulcer. More operations were conducted to stop the intestinal bleeding, but his condition worsened, and Rudder passed away on March 23, 1970, at the age of fifty-nine.³⁰

Rudder's body lay in state in the rotunda of the administration building on the campus of A&M. A public memorial service attended by such dignitaries as Governor Preston Smith, former governor Allan Shivers, numerous local, state, and national politicians, and many military comrades, including

former Rangers, was held at White Coliseum. Those such as Generals Norman D. Cota and Troy Middleton, who commanded the 28th Infantry Division and the VIII Corps, respectively, during the Battle of the Bulge; Senator John G. Tower; and former governor John Connally could not attend, but expressed their condolences via telegrams. Also in attendance was former president and friend Lyndon B. Johnson. "His heroism on the Normandy beaches in a time of war was only a prelude to his contribution in peace as an educator, public official and concerned citizen," Johnson remarked. "Earl Rudder brought Texas A&M University to new heights of achievement, excellence and prestige," said Senator Ralph Yarborough. "He was the best," quoted Representative Olin L. Teague. With military honors, Rudder was buried near the campus.³¹

In some ways Rudder was the most unlikely of candidates to bring about many of the changes at Texas A&M. He was from the South, imbued with military traditions and values, and was, for all intents and purposes, a product of the nineteenth century. But Rudder was the person most responsible for the admission of women and minorities and ending compulsory military training at the school. Not necessarily because of his ideological beliefs as a crusader, but because he knew it to be the right and necessary step to attain particular goals.³²

NOTES

¹Ron Tyler, editor, *The New Handbook of Texas*, 6 vols. (Austin, TX: State Historical Association, 1996), VI, p. 274.

²Henry C. Dethloff, *A Centennial History of Texas A&M University, 1876-1976*, 2 vols. (College Station, 1975), p. 310; Henry C. Dethloff, *Texas A&M University: A Pictorial History, 1876-1996* (College Station, 1996), p. 151; William N. Stokes, Jr., *Sterling C. Evans: Texas Aggie, Banker, Cattleman* (Austin, 1985), p. 58; Tyler, ed., *Handbook of Texas*, VI, p. 275.

³Dethloff, *Texas A&M History*, p. 151; Stokes, *Sterling C. Evans*, p. 58; Tyler, ed., *Handbook of Texas*, VI, p. 275.

⁴Margaret Rudder, interview with author, April 12, 2003; Tyler, ed., *Handbook of Texas*, VI, p. 274; *Sports Illustrated*, December 24, 1956; *Stephenville-Empire Tribune*, June 30, 1944; Ronald Lane, *Rudder's Rangers: The True Story of the 2nd Ranger Battalion D-Day Combat Action* (Longwood, Florida, 1979), p. 179.

⁵Omar Bradley, *A Soldier's Story* (New York, 1951), p. 269; Tyler, ed., *New Handbook of Texas*, VI, p. 275; Margaret Rudder interview; *Austin Statesman*, February 17, 1955; *Brady Standard*, February 26, 1952; *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women 1960-1961* (Chicago, 1962), XXXI, p. 2492.

⁶Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 556; Margaret Rudder interview.

⁷Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, pp. 556-557; *Dallas Morning News*, December 4, 1957; *Dallas Morning News*, January 18, 1958; *Houston Chronicle*, January 17 and 19, 1958; *College Station Battalion*, February 18, 1958.

⁸*Bryan Daily Eagle*, January 5, 1958; *Houston Chronicle*, 19, 1958; *Dallas Morning News*, January, 18 and 19, 1955; *College Station Battalion*, February 18, 1958; *Intended for all: 125 Years of Women at Texas A&M*, Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, 2001, n.p. (hereafter cited as "Intended for all"); *Allred v. Heaton* 336 S.W. 2d, p. 251 (Tex. App. 1960); *Heaton v. Bristol* 317 S.W. 2d, p. 86 (Tex. App. 1958); *Bristol v. Heaton* 79 S.Ct. pp. 1123 (S.Ct. 1960).

⁹*College Station Battalion*, April 7, 1959.

¹⁰*Proceedings of the Inauguration of James Earl Rudder as President of The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas*, March 26, 1960 (College Station, 1960), pp. 25, 23-27; *College Station Battalion*, March 24 and 25, 1960.

¹¹Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 561; Margaret Rudder interview.

¹²*Proceedings of Faculty-Staff Conference of Aspirations*, July 25, 1961, Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, pp. 3-4; Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 561.

¹³Century Council, *Report of the Century Council* (College Station, 1962), pp. 7-11, pp. 56-57.

¹⁴*Institutional Self-Study: Report to Commission on Colleges*, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (College Station, 1963), pp. 43-44.

¹⁵Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 563; Century Study, *Faculty-Staff-Student Study on Aspirations* (College Station, 1962), pp. 22-43.

¹⁶Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, pp. 563-564.

¹⁷Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 566; Board of Directors, *Blueprint for Success* (College Station, 1962), n.p.; T. R. Spence, *Enrollment Record and Forecast: A&M College of Texas, 1962-1976* (College Station, 1962), pp. 1-6; *Houston Chronicle*, November 29, 1964; *Bryan Daily Eagle*, March 2, 1972; James Earl Rudder to John G. Tower, January 3, 1967, Texas A&M President Files, Box 91-1, Fair Labor Standards Act, June 1966-May 1967, Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas (hereafter cited as President Files); James Earl Rudder to Olin E. Teague, January 3, 1967, Texas A&M President Files, Box 91-1, Fair Labor Standards Act, June 1966-May 1967, President Files; *Bryan Daily Eagle*, March 2, 1972; Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 566; Board of Directors, *Blueprint for Success*.

¹⁸*Intended for all*, n.p.; *Bryan Daily Eagle*, April 28, 1963; Stokes, *Sterling C. Evans*, 58-59; *Houston Chronicle*, April 30, 1963; *Bryan Daily Eagle*, April 28, 1963; *Houston Chronicle*, April 30, 1963; *Bryan Daily Eagle*, April 28, 1963; *Abilene Reporter News*, April 28, 1963.

¹⁹*Houston Chronicle*, June 19, 1958; Letter to Association of Former Students from President A&M Board of Directors, April 1963, reproduced in *The Texas Aggies*, (April 1963), p. 1.

²⁰*Houston Chronicle*, June 19, 1958; Letter to Association of Former Students from President A&M Board of Directors, April 1963, reproduced in *The Texas Aggies*, (April 1963), p. 1.

²¹*Dallas Morning News*, April 30, 1963;

²²Margaret Rudder interview.

²³*Abilene Reporter News*, April 28, 1963; Stokes, *Sterling C. Evans*, 63; *Houston Post*, May 8, 11, and 14, 1963; *Bryan Daily Eagle*, May 14, 1963; *Intended for all*, n.p.; Polly Westbrook, "A History of Coeducation at Texas A&M University," (unpublished manuscript, Texas A&M University, 1970), pp. 25-26.

²⁴*Houston Chronicle*, January 30, 1964; *Intended for all*, n.p.; James Earl Rudder to George Moffett, January 2, 1964, Box 69-27, Coeducation, January 1964-August 1964, President Files.

²⁵*Intended for all*, n.p.

²⁶*Intended for all*, n.p.; Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 570; Stokes, *Sterling C. Evans*, pp. 60-62.

²⁷Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II, p. 570, pp. 574-575.

²⁸*College Station Battalion*, June 6, 1963; James Earl Rudder to Francis Keppel, June 8, 1964, Box 69-23, Civil Rights, January 1964-August 1964, President Files.

²⁹Dethloff, *Centennial History*, II p. 577.

³⁰*Dallas Morning News*, March 24, 1970; *Houston Chronicle*, March 25, 1970.

³¹*Houston Chronicle*, March 25, 1970; *Western Union Telegram* to Mrs. James Earl Rudder from John G. Tower, March 24, 1970, Norman D. Cota, March 25, 1970, John Connally, March 26, 1970, Troy Middleton, March 24, 1970, James Earl Rudder Files; *Dallas Times Herald*, March 26, 1970; *Houston Chronicle*, March 25, 1970.

³²Douglas Page, ed., *Aggieland 1970* (College Station, 1971), p. 13.

QUEENS OF THE COURT: THE KILDARE LADY EAGLES 1937-1945

By Gail Dorgan

If the football team has just lost the second game of the season without scoring a point, how can school officials offset the loss? Announce that the "girls basketball team, the club which ran a string of victories up to 115, will stage its first game."

Formed in 1937, the Kildare Lady Eagles posted an impressive record on the court and set the standard for teams to follow. Teams traveled more than 200 miles for the opportunity to play the famous Lady Eagles, who accumulated a three-year record of 258 wins and seven losses, none by more than six points, and "never finished lower than second place in any tournament entered." On March 30, 1939, *The Citizens Journal* reported that the Lady Eagles "had won the East Texas Championship, the Cass County Championship, runner-up for the West Louisiana Championship, and runner-up in the North Texas Tournament." That same year the Lady Eagles scored "1862 [points] making an average of 29 points per game." Statistics such as these ensured the Lady Eagles of 1937 to 1945 a place in the history of the school and the town of Kildare, Texas. While many communities the size of Kildare did not have girls basketball, Kildare stressed the sport and achieved greatness during an era in which the student population of Kildare School diminished to such an extent that some classes graduated only four students.¹

Basketball in Kildare began on dirt courts located on the playground of the five-teacher, wood-frame school building. In 1937 tax revenue from oil companies allowed Kildare to construct a modern brick school building with "one of the most modern, well-equipped gymnasiums in East Texas." Many fans experienced indoor plumbing and electricity for the first time in this gym. It boasted "nineteen 300-watt lamps. These lamps are so arranged that it is impossible to make a shadow on the playing court." A 110-volt Kohler generator furnished electricity for the school since Kildare did not have electric lines installed until 1939. Orman Whatley declared, "I saw the lights get awfully dim, but they didn't ever have to call a game off because the lights went down." The gymnasium's "two dressing rooms, equipped with 12 showers, occupied the west [boys'] and the east [girls'] ends of the gymnasium." The Lady Eagles rarely used the dressing rooms during a home game; rather, one player remembered, they "gave the visitors the dressing rooms" and "went into a classroom with a curtain over the window. Mrs. Grainger or Mrs. Nelson would tell Mr. Alexander [the coach] when we were ready so he could talk to us before a game and give us a pep talk." The Lady Eagles had to clean the dressing rooms after each game or practice, a requirement imposed on them by Coach C.C. Alexander.²

To compliment the new gym, Alexander assembled the first boy's and girl's basketball teams comprised of students from the sixth to the eleventh grade for the Kildare School System. R.S. Beasley, principal of Kildare High,

and Joe H. Seay supervised the boys' teams while Alexander coached the girls' team. Alexander had been a girl's basketball coach at Oak Grove prior to becoming superintendent at Kildare. Maudie Bell Dennison, Marie Howard, Mildred Whatley, Billie Arden Wharton, Mildred Simmons, Vionne Simmons, Ida Beard, Lucile Jones, June Haggard, Mary Dotson, and Marie Blue constituted the 1937-1938 Lady Eagles' lineup. Future Lady Eagles looked up to these original players as a source of inspiration and motivation.

Alexander suggested that Kildare use the colors of his alma mater, Stephen F. Austin State University, so purple and white became the official colors of the Eagles. Each team that donned the purple satin uniform had to adhere to rules set forth by the coaching staff. Coaches C.C. Alexander, Merle Grainger – who became the lady Eagle's coach when Alexander left – and Doris Downs required players to conduct themselves properly. Failure to do so resulted in the forfeiture of eligibility for the next game. "If we got sent to study hall, boys or girls, for any reason like chewing gum or whatever, you didn't get to practice ball that day. If it was for something worse than chewing gum you didn't even get to play ball," remembered Lady Eagle Jean Watley Salmon. "You worked to keep your grades up and you didn't want to get behind. We knew that if we did, we didn't get to play ball. You didn't have any privileges. That was Coach Alexander's rules."¹

While on the court, coaches expected the ladies to display common courtesy toward the opposing team. Mary (Dotson) Swanner recalled that Coach Alexander preached that someone had to lose and a loss must be accepted gracefully. Alexander's philosophy on winning and losing evidenced itself in a game against Fulton, Mississippi, on March 29, 1940. After being defeated, the Kildare girls

dashed down the hall to the classroom and dressed and bawled and squalled. I [Mary Dotson Swanner, a former Lady Eagle] made up my mind that if I got beat I wasn't gonna act like that. I remembered that Mr. Alex [Coach Alexander] always told us that someone had to lose and that I had a good winning streak and if I lose I'm gonna take it like I'm suppose to. I was up there [on the court] congratulating the girls from the other team and telling them what a good team they were. Coach Alex went down to the dressing room and they were all crying and he asked, 'Where's Mary?' Nobody knew, so they all came out on the court and there I was out there with the girls from the other team. Coach Alex asked me why I wasn't crying and I told him that we had done the best we could and it wasn't good enough so why cry about it? Coach Alex fussed at the other girls and told that 'someone had to lose and it was your turn tonight so take it like a man.' He didn't want to see another tear.⁴

On February 9, 1938, in a game against the Louisiana state champion team from Castor, Louisiana, the referee called only one foul against the Eagles. Kildare players took pride in what they considered a confirmation of their good character on the court. Another testament to the ladylike sportsmanship of the Eagles occurred on February 16, 1939, in a two-game matchup against Wolfe City, Texas, when "the same six players started both games and not a player fouled out."⁵

Alexander, Grainger, and Downs also expected the Lady Eagles to exhibit good grooming. Players proudly displayed white rubber-soled sneakers—painted with white shoe polish and never worn anywhere but in the gymnasium—white socks, a spotless uniform, and fixed hair. “Coach Alexander always made sure we had money for perms at the beginning of the school year. He also bought shoes for those who couldn’t afford them. If we didn’t have the money he would give it to us out of the athletic fund. He said we were the ones who made the money and he wanted us to look nice,” revealed Swanner.⁶

Lady Eagles experienced preferential treatment when it came to recognizing their achievements. Student Orman Whatley recalled that assemblies were held every Monday morning during C.C. Alexander’s tenure as superintendent of the Kildare School. Sometimes it would be a short assembly, but if the girls were on a winning streak, “by the time he congratulated all the girls and gave out the gold basketball pins, the morning would be half over.”

Alexander went to great lengths to express confidence in his Lady Eagles. Whatley recalled a time when the team played a championship game against Bright Star, Arkansas. “I can show you one picture where Alexander was so confident his team would win the championship game that he already had the championship trophy made with an eagle on it. Bright Star won that game and he just swapped the trophies and gave Bright Star what should have been the second place trophy.”⁷

Alexander publicized his team to the best of his abilities. He provided press releases and information regarding the Kildare School to *The Citizens Journal* from 1937 to 1942. Readers of the paper could find articles extolling the virtues of the Lady Eagles and recounting their various victories against “championship” teams. Alexander’s media prowess paid off as newspaper reports claimed, “Many veterans of girls’ basketball are saying this [Kildare versus Leesburg] was the greatest game ever seen in this section of the state.” Other media reports claimed that “The Kildare girls flashed back their usual form that made them so popular and famous this season by smashing Longstreet, La., the DeSoto Parish champions, by a score of 71 to 18.” Another article stated, “The famed Kildare High School girls’ team needs no introduction in the Ark-La-Tex area for the record they have made has been one of history in girls’ basketball.”⁸

While the Lady Eagles enjoyed playing the sport, just getting to the games often required the participation of the entire community of Kildare. In the early days of the Lady Eagles, Coach Alexander made sure that every Kildare school student who wanted to attend the girls’ home game could do so. He had the buses run their regular routes and pick up the students who wanted to go to the game. “Parents that didn’t have cars or the dads were off working and the mother didn’t have a way were allowed to ride the bus. Our bus drivers went out to pick up all the kids who wanted to come to the game because a lot of people didn’t have cars.”⁹

Buses took the players to games close to Kildare, and often the boys’ and girls’ teams rode the same bus. “Our regular drivers took us to the away games.

There were four drivers who took turns taking us to the games. We could sing and talk on the bus but we couldn't get loud or move around much," recalled Salmon. Bobbie (Washington) Kirkland remembered one bus trip when the coach allowed her boyfriend to ride the team bus. "One night I decided that I didn't want to play ball because Charles had come in from basic training. The coach told me Charles could ride the bus this one time if I would play basketball that night."¹⁰

"School buses that carry teams to games, or transport school bands, debating teams, and other such groups on excursions will lose their eligibility for tires," stated a press release issued by the Cass County War Price and Rationing Board in 1942 after notification from the Office of Price Headquarters. Determined to keep the Eagle basketball spirit alive and to repay the kindness shown by Coach Alexander during the previous years, residents of Kildare volunteered their private cars to take the girls to games. "We had to go all over Kildare to find someone to take us to the games. We didn't know until we got to the school whether we had a way to the game or not," said Whatley.¹¹

Travel to away games became an adventure for the team. Salmon remembered, "We would get six girls and a driver in a car and they took us to the out of town games." "They wouldn't have got to go to the games if we hadn't just loaded them up and taken them since there weren't any buses because they didn't have any more tires and gas was rationed," recalled Orman Whatley. The following of the Kildare girls was not as strong during these years because of the distance of the games played and the rationing of gas.¹²

Road games also offered the Lady Eagles broadening experiences. Tradition dictated that members of the host team would provide accommodations and meals in their homes for visiting team members. "In Fulton, Mississippi, we stayed in the homes of the players there. Mr. and Mrs. Nelson, Opal Cates, and I stayed in the same house," recalled Swanner. In turn, the Lady Eagles hosted their opponents. "My sister Mildred would bring a lot of girls home. Most of the time they would come home with her on Friday and stay there until they went back for the game," reminisced Orman Whatley. Tire and gasoline rationing eventually limited the distances that teams could travel, and the tradition of staying with opposing team members dissipated. By 1949 teams rarely traveled distances that required overnight stays. "The longest time we ever stayed away was two days. We stayed in a dormitory when we played Dallas in a championship game," stated Kirkland, who also recalled only one time in the four years she played basketball for the Eagles when the team stayed with the host team's players.¹³

Coach C.C. Alexander always ensured that the team, the fans, and the officials would have a wonderful time while attending games at the Kildare gym. He personally greeted the fans and thanked them for attending. Great anticipation preceded his pre-game welcome speeches because fans never knew what to expect from the charismatic coach of the Lady Eagles. He cared about promoting women's basketball and often gave Kildare residents access

to the gymnasium even if they did not have the ten-cent price of admission.

The atmosphere of the game left an impression on each girl who played for the Lady Eagles. Fans cheered wildly whenever the Lady Eagles took the court. "We came out of the dressing room and circled around the court. Everyone was hollering and going on and the band was playing 'The Kildare Eagles Will Shine Tonight.' We ran around the court and everyone would cheer until we got back to the end of the court we would start practicing on," recounted Salmon.¹⁴

Crowds packed the Kildare gym any time the girls played basketball. "That was a drawing card to get the gym full to see the girls play ball. Girl's basketball was more exciting. The boys lost a lot," stated Whatley. A November 3, 1938, newspaper account of a game against Elysian Fields estimated "seven hundred fans [were] there to see the famous Kildare girl cagers." People stood in the double doorways located on the west and east sides of the gym and in the two sets of double doors leading into the hallway of the school and sat in the three rows of seats across the sides. "At times they also put chairs across the stage. They built a wire cage across the stage [located behind one of the goals] so the ball wouldn't go in," recalled Whatley.¹⁵

Orman Whatley also recalled that the crowds loved to see the Lady Eagles play the team from Waskom because Waskom had a female referee, Mrs. Helen Brewer. "She called most of the games. She kept the girls in line and a lot of people came to the games just to see her because it was almost unheard of to have a female official back then."¹⁶

Coverage of the Lady Eagles' upcoming games often included statements encouraging the public to attend the sporting event proclaiming, "The Eagles can be defeated, having lost last Wednesday night to Bright Star, Arkansas State Champions, by a score of 44 to 22." When the Lady Eagles played Wolfe City, Texas, newspaper reports claimed, "Wolfe City seems to be the favorite to win at least one, if not both of the games," but when the Eagles proved victorious the article read, "The Kildare girls went on to further fame by defeating the Wolfe City Wolves of Hunt County, one of the greatest teams ever to be assembled in North Texas." Other stories regarding the Lady Eagles included the phrase "Kildare's famous high school girls' basketball team" and claimed that "Kildare is boasting the greatest girl's basketball team in the state for the greatest team to ever be assembled in the southwest. They will be defeated occasionally, so be on hand January 5-6 to see them win, lose, or draw."¹⁷

The Kildare gymnasium offered fans many treats, including a chance to witness the first Kildare girls' basketball team in action. Media coverage of the 1937 - 1938 team proclaimed, "Two of the Kildare star forwards are the well-known Mary Dotson and Marie Blue, former Oak Grove stars, who have played in 107 games and have never known defeat. The people of Kildare are hailing them as the two greatest forwards in Texas." According to Swanner, she and Marie Blue had "played together all of their lives and knew what to expect of each other. She played the field because she could make the long shots; they call them three pointers now. I played under the basket and if she missed I

could jump higher than most of the girls and I would back it up for her. She [Marie] always knew where I would be.”

Swanner and Blue dominated the court with their superior shooting skills. In a game against Longstreet, Louisiana, “Mary Dotson and Marie Blue accounted for 54 points of the Eagles’ score (97 to 18) in little more than the first half.” A press account of the game in 1938 against Bright Star, Arkansas, proclaimed, “The feature of the game was the first five shots taken by the Kildare forwards resulted in points being scored. The score at the end of the first eight minutes of play was Kildare 16 and Bright Star 0.” Swanner and Blue combined shooting abilities on December 21, 1938, when they “exhibited the most sensational scoring ever seen in the Kildare gym. Mary Dotson was high scorer of the game with 32 points scored in 24 minutes of play. Marie Blue was the next high pointer with 18 points, most of which was sensational shots. These two girls scored 50 points in 24 minutes of play.” During the Tri-State Championship final game in 1939, Marie Blue “found the basket fourteen out of fifteen times and scored a total of twenty eight points and sent the team to a smashing 53 – 31 victory over Cookville.”¹⁸

Swanner played basketball for the Eagles from 1937 until 1940. Prior to that she played for Oak Grove, where she helped “form the nucleus for ... [Oak Grove’s] sextet” and established a reputation as an outstanding forward. Swanner’s career at Oak Grove began in the sixth grade and expanded to include a record of having “never been defeated over a period of four years.”

I started playing basketball with the main team in the sixth grade. We had a lady coach in Oak Grove and she wouldn’t let me play on the team because my sister was playing. This coach left to tend to her sick father and the team went to Mr. Alexander and asked him to coach the girls. He was the boys’ coach then. The team promised him if he would take over we would do our best to win. Mr. Alexander quit the boys’ team to coach the girls. He was the first one to put me in. He promised us he would start those who played the hardest and did their best, recalled Swanner.

Oak Grove did not offer the upper grades, so Swanner transferred to Kildare in 1937 to begin her ninth-grade year. “I’ve been asked if they [Kildare School] paid us money to play for Kildare and the answer is NO! We didn’t go to [the] Atlanta school because they wouldn’t run a bus. Kildare would.”¹⁹

Swanner described her career as a Lady Eagle as wonderful. “Best times of my life was playing ball. We had a good coach and good girls to play with.” Swanner did her best to live up to fan expectations of her playing abilities. She would not let illness or pain stop her. “Mary Dotson, the star forward of the Eagles, came back strong after hopping through the Leeburg game with a rison on her leg to score 24 points.” On March 3, 1939, the Ebenezer cagers witnessed Swanner’s prowess on the basketball court. *The Citizens Journal* reported, “Mary Dotson led the scoring parade which saw 101 points chalked up, with 34 tallies and Marie Blue was runner-up with 15.” By March 1939 Swanner, “Kildare’s all state forward,” had scored “an average of 28 points per game or a total of 1176,” reported *The Citizens Journal*.²⁰

Alexander's media campaign proved successful in its ability to draw crowds to witness the Kildare girls achieve basketball fame. Press attention waned after Alexander's departure in 1942 due to declining enrollment, talk of consolidation, and a better job offer. Games no longer received front-page coverage and few reports concerning the Kildare girls' basketball team or the Kildare community were written. Coverage of Kildare events shifted from the *Citizens Journal* to the *Cass County Sun*, which focused almost exclusively on Linden, Texas. Both papers, *The Cass County Sun* and *The Citizens Journal*, from 1942 until 1945 focused on war issues and contained little or no information regarding sports.

Lady Eagles' games also provided the crowd with the opportunity to see and hear the school band. Seated on the stage, the band played for the team before, during, and after games. Whatley stated, "To really rattle the other team Coach Alexander would give Mr. Robison [the band director] the high sign and the band would come out playing 'Kildare Will Shine Tonight,' 'Beer Barrel Polka' or 'Alexander's Ragtime Band.' You could hear it out on [highway] 125 and down the road a ways." Salmon maintained that "You never heard in your life the music that band played at the games. They played 'Alexander's Ragtime Band' because his name was C.C. Alexander. The band would cheer him and the team on at the half. If the game was dragging Mr. Robison would strike up the band and the place would roar. I mean, he [Mr. Robison] really let loose on those games." The band played for the Lady Eagles for many years; however, in 1949 cheerleaders replaced the band as a source of motivation for the basketball team.²¹

Swanner recalled a time when Coach C.C. Alexander refused to let the team run up the score against another team. "He kept taking us out even though everyone kept hollering at him to put us back in because they [the fans] wanted to see us reach 100 points. Coach Alexander didn't believe in skunking anyone." Swanner cites a game against Caddo Sporting Goods as evidence of Alexander's sense of fair play. "On Saturday night December 16 the Kildare girls trounced the Caddo Sporting Goods team, leaders of the Marshall League 93 to 6. Coach Alexander played two full teams in order to hold the score as low as possible." Alexander also pulled his starting players in a March 24, 1938, game against Longstreet, Louisiana, 1938 DeSoto Parish champions, to keep the score down. Alexander removed Swanner and Blue after the first half of the game in favor of his "B" forwards. Kildare won the game by a score of 71 to 18.²²

Swanner's Kildare basketball career allowed her to travel through many states playing the game she loved. Her career as an Eagle ended on March 22-23, 1940, at Fulton, Mississippi. Even though the Eagles lost to the Mississippi State Champions they did not feel bad because "Fulton has the best girls' team ever seen by the Kildare girls," quoted *The Citizens Journal*.²³

Mary (Tip) Whatley joined Swanner and the Eagles in 1940 as a sixth grader and played until 1943. Coach Alexander had seen Whatley's basketball abilities when, as a fourth grader, she played on the dirt courts located in the

schoolyard. "He would say, "You're going to be a good ball player. You're going to be a great ball player." "He would get tickled at some of the things we would do," recalled Whatley. She also credited Alexander with taking an interest in the younger Kildare students and cultivating their dedication to the sport of basketball.

As a sixth grader Whatley began her career on the Eagles "B" team coached by Mr. Joe H. Seay. "I played guard, but I could play forward. In the Class B Championship game Mr. Seay took me out in the middle of the game and he put Louise back in my place there playing guard. Well, I made 13 points and we won the game. Once in a while they did weird things and it would work to win a game."²⁴

As Whatley matured Alexander rewarded her athletic prowess by allowing her to travel with the team and practice with Swanner, Blue, and the rest of the Eagles' team. "I couldn't hardly wait for the game to start. I was awfully young to get to play when I did," exclaimed Whatley.

Whatley and Swanner recalled instances when it proved difficult to maintain the ladylike composure expected of team members. One opposing team had "a big girl on the team that night and she kept hitting me. Finally I hit her. I was on the other end of the court and the referee didn't call it. She was just a mean girl. She just kept hitting me when the referee wasn't looking." Whatley also experienced a black eye when a member of her team, Lillie Belle Varnell, got the ball and ran from one end of the court to the other, where she collided with Whatley.²⁵

Swanner recounted a time in which it proved difficult for her to maintain her composure. In a game against Bright Star, Arkansas, she continually felt herself being "pricked" with a sharp object. Every time she got near one particular Bright Star player the girl would stick her with a pin she had hidden on her person.

In 1944 a new team took the court. Jean (Whatley) Salmon played for the Eagles, now coached by Merle Grainger, from 1944 until 1946. Undocumented Kildare lore claims that Salmon's Lady Eagles won a state championship in 1945. Years later Salmon could not remember if the team had won a state championship. "I know we went to China, Texas, where Mr. Alexander went when he left Kildare, and at Colmesneil, Texas, and played in a tournament. We won and they said we won the state tournament. The tournament at Colmesneil started at 10 that morning. We played until 8 that night. We played about four games that day, the last being the championship game."

One of Salmon's fondest memories of games included Coach C.C. Alexander. "At the Colmesneil game he [Alexander] said, 'I've got two teams here. I don't know who is going to be the winner, but I've got a winner either way. Where I used to be or where I am now [China, Texas].' "

Other games Salmon remembered playing included games against Avinger, Jefferson, McLeod, Huffines, and Bright Star. "The games I remember the most are the ones against Avinger because they were so big [tall] and

played so rough. We would also go to McLeod one year, Kildare the next, or Huffines to play in a Tri-State Tournament. Bivins didn't have a team. They had a school and a dirt court. Linden had a dirt court but not a girl's team," recalled Salmon.²⁶

Despite its success in basketball dwindling enrollment took a toll on the Kildare School. The downsizing of the Phillips 66 camp resulted in a dramatic decrease in student population. Talk of consolidation with either Atlanta or McLeod began to circulate in 1945. The Kildare School ceased to exist in 1958 when officials decided to consolidate with Linden, Texas. The closing of the school marked the end of two decades of girls' basketball superiority. Linden-Kildare officials deemed that sports for girls was not lady-like and phased out girls' basketball until early in the 1980s.

Despite having lost their school to consolidation and later to fire, the members of the Kildare Lady Eagles proudly displayed the treasured keepsakes of their past. Frayed purple sweaters, black-and-white photos of shiny-faced young women dressed in basketball uniforms bring tender smiles and a sense of the past to those who witnessed the existence of a twenty-year basketball dynasty. Each player recalled their days as a Lady Eagle as one of the best times of their lives. The trophies and awards won by the girls' basketball team and housed in the school's trophy case perished in a fire at the school after it had been converted into a community center. They now survive only in the memories of the Kildare alumni and those fortunate enough to have observed the dominating basketball played in the tiny Northeast Texas town of Kildare. As long as there remains even one family member, friend, or school-mate who remembers, the members of the Kildare girls' basketball team will continue their reign as the queens of the court.

We're loyal to you Kildare High
We're steadfast and true, Kildare High
Our school is our pride and joy
Victory to you Kildare High, rah rah.

We're loyal to you Kildare High
The purple and White, Kildare High
We'll back you to stand, 'gainst the best in the land
We're loyal to you Kildare High, rah, rah.²⁷

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**THE BIRDS OF TANGLEWOOD
AND THE GREAT BIRD STORM OF 1922**

By Pamela Lynn Palmer

Turning the half-century mark often makes one reflective, and when Karle Wilson Baker reached her fiftieth birthday on October 13, 1928, she fell into an essay mood. Her journal entries and unpublished essays show that she was not at all morose about the inevitable march of time, but rather invigorated. In "The First Fifty Years," she wrote:

Lately "I stood tiptoe upon a little hill"—a birthday — and looked back. And it pleases me to believe that the first fifty years are the hardest. I am a writer. I hope the note of querulousness and injury will not creep into this paper; it aspires to be a paean, not a complaint. Not, heaven knows, that I would pretend that a writer has nothing to complain of. He has cause, aplenty; but by the time he is fifty he knows that everybody else has equal cause. That is one of the grand advantages of being fifty. By that time one has understood that, in the plain words of one of Wordsworth's homespun heroes, "our lot is a hard lot." Not to be any longer handicapped by youth's incredulous astonishment over the fact, means ease to the straightened shoulders, speed to the feet. One's astonishment, rather, has begun to turn in another direction: upon the unsuspected inner nature of such facts, once accepted. How they slowly turn themselves inside out, as it were, before one's eyes, revealing themselves for what they are: disguised incentives to courage, nurses of steadfastness, wicket gates to wisdom. When one has ceased to spend energy resenting the difficulty of life, he is able, at last, to do something about it: and lo, while he is rolling up his sleeves and tightening his belt, three-fourths of the difficulty vanishes. He can wreck his whole force, as youth can seldom do, upon the remaining fourth.¹

Being in a meditative frame of mind, and feeling an underlying sense of urgency to accomplish all she could in the remaining years allotted to her, Baker began contemplating a book of essays. Perhaps the recent move to West Windows, her name for the home she and her husband, banker Thomas Ellis Baker, built at 1613 North Street in Nacogdoches, caused her to go through her old publications. She had accumulated a couple of shelves' worth by then — two volumes of poetry, a book of allegorical tales, and two books for children as well as poems, short stories, and articles in literary journals and mass circulation magazines such as *The Red Book*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Cosmopolitan*. Perhaps setting up the bird feeding shelves at her new home sparked the idea. At any rate, by January 1929 she had written a third essay about birds to add to two others originally published in *Yale Review*. With one more, she would have a manuscript of nearly a hundred pages.²

Baker's initial idea of writing informal essays about her feathered friends can be traced as far back as 1909. She sent a query to *The Delineator* and, nearly a year later, received this note from editor and novelist Theodore Dreiser: "In June, 1909, you wrote me about 'The Story of Tanglewood': how some of your friends made a home out in the wilderness. I suggested then that

I thought that would make a good story and I expected that you would some day really try your hand at it. Have you entirely abandoned the idea?" At the time Baker was expecting her second child, and a decade passed before she had a chance to pursue the topic. During the intervening years she kept notebooks of sporadic bird observations, for the little creatures had fascinated her since early childhood. She also used bird imagery frequently in her poetry.³

Baker's first essay, "The Birds of Tanglewood," appeared in the *Yale Review* in October 1921. She shared covers in that issue with such notables as British novelist John Galsworthy – best known for *The Forsyte Saga* – and poets Robert Frost, Sara Teasdale, and Edwin Arlington Robinson. "Tanglewood" was the name that young Karle and her family had given to the undeveloped lot across from their first home on Mound Street in Nacogdoches in 1900. As she later described the place, it

was a tangle of grape-vines and underbrush and great forest trees, which my father had just bought in the little town to which he had lately moved. He had drained it and fenced it, but left it otherwise unchanged; and when I first came from college to live in the little house across the street, the birds had no knowledge of its change of ownership. They went on singing and rioting and nesting there just as their ancestors had done through immemorial summers, untroubled by perplexities as to whether it belonged to France, to Spain, to one Sam Houston, to the Republic of Fredonia, or still to the friendly Tejas. All had claimed it at one time or another, but my own conviction is that the wood-thrushes were and are the rightful owners of the place.⁴

When Karle's parents lost their home to fire during Christmas week 1902, they cleared just enough of the Tanglewood lot to build a house there. They left the rest of the land in its natural state, thus offending some of the neighbors. Tanglewood was located on the northwest corner of Mound and Hughes streets, across from the campus of Thomas J. Rusk Elementary School today. Karle and her husband moved into Tanglewood after the death of Karle's father in 1916 and lived there for ten years.⁵

Baker's second essay on birds, "Window Lore," was written after a long illness that confined her indoors but afforded her hours to observe birds feeding on her windowsill at Tanglewood. She was in the habit of putting birdseed, grains of corn, and crumbled cornbread on a shelf outside a large window on the north side of the house. The birds were initially startled to see a human face on the other side of the windowpane, as Karle lay propped up on a pillow on the couch. After the birds grew accustomed to her presence, however, she was able to perceive differences in behavior not only between the various species, but also between individuals of the same variety.⁶

"Window Lore" appeared in the April issue of *Yale Review* in 1923. It must have been gratifying for Baker to glance through her collection of magazine publications. In the *Harper's Magazine* (May 1905), her poem "The Love of Ella" was printed across from an essay by William Dean Howells. Other poems and essays of Baker's had appeared with works of Amy Lowell, Carl Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benet, and Vachel Lindsey. She had even rubbed literary shoulders twice with William Howard Taft in the *Yale Review*

(October 1916 and October 1920), and twice with Theodore Roosevelt in *Scribner's Magazine* (April 1910 and February 1920). True, they were both ex-presidents by then. But how many Texas writers could boast of such illustrious company by 1928?

Baker took for the topic of her third essay, "An Aerial Harvest," the astonishing "Bird Storm" that occurred in Nacogdoches the night of April 24-25, 1922. After a fierce overnight thunderstorm, residents awoke to find hundreds of dead, stunned, and waterlogged but brightly-colored birds strewn all over town. After examining them, Baker sent the following account to the local paper:

Knowing that all Nacogdoches has been interested in our remarkable visitation of migrating birds, I should like to share my records with the readers of the *Sentinel*.

I have had some fifty specimens, alive and dead, in my hands, and among these I have identified nineteen different species. Of some species I have only one specimen, of some two or three, and of a few – like the oven-bird and the indigo bunting – from six to a dozen.

By far the greater number of these birds were migrants; birds which are never seen here except for a few days in the spring and fall. Most of them breed in Canada, and winter in Mexico, Central America and South America.

Most of them belong to the family of warblers – a large family consisting of some sixty species, none of them much larger than an English sparrow, and most of them about the size of a canary or smaller. Nearly all of them are beautifully marked and colored, showing yellow, orange, green, blue, black and white spots and markings. Yellow, perhaps, predominates. They are not generally known except to bird – students, because, in addition to the fact that they are rare visitors, most of them are small and restless, and flit about among the leaves so quickly that it is hard to see their distinguishing marks. Most of them prefer to feed among the treetops, though they are often seen darting about in the shrubs and bushes, and a few feed on the ground. They are all insect – eating rather than seed-eating, birds. Among the dead and crippled birds I examined I identified 14 different kinds of warblers.

Three of the most beautiful larger birds were the Baltimore oriole (orange and black), the scarlet tanager (scarlet and black), and the summer tanager. Of the last-named species, the male is of a rosy or strawberry red, and the female a rich gold-green. It is a surprise to find that they belong to the same species.

In addition to the birds I examined at close range, I identified four other kinds in the trees about the house. Three of these kinds were warblers. One was the cerulean warbler, which, as the name indicates, is of a beautiful bright blue.

This vast army of tiny birds passes over our heads twice every year; but usually only a few of them stop with us, and those only for a few days. This time the rain and wind must have driven them down from the high air-lanes they usually follow, and, blinded by the street-lights they dashed themselves to death against buildings and wires – or else they were only wounded or stunned. I have read that thousands are picked up every year at the foot of

lighthouses. It seems, this time, that the dead birds were picked up only in town, and not in the country – which would also seem to support the theory that it is the lights which cause the destruction.⁴

Baker's calm account probably helped to soothe the frazzled nerves of her fellow citizens, who had more reason than Chicken Little to fear the sky was falling. In transforming the account from journalistic report to informal essay, Baker added human touches as she told how different people brought her the birds, how the townspeople scoured the town for bird cages and set up impromptu aviaries in window store fronts, how she and her daughter cared for the wounded, and how Charlotte – age eleven – conducted a decent "Christian burial" for those that failed to survive.⁵

With the three essays on birds, Baker had nearly enough material for a book, and she began to look for a publisher. Although Yale University Press had brought out her first four books, she felt they had not done enough to promote and market her works, especially in the Southwest where she was becoming well known through her readings at college and high school campuses and women's and literary clubs. Honored by Southern Methodist University with a doctor of literature degree, Baker had been in the English department of Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College since the summer of 1924 and she was in much demand as a public speaker.

The World Book Company had published her reader, *Texas Flag Primer*, but their titles were mostly textbooks. She knew that fellow Texas writer Hilton Ross Greer had been dealing with Southwest Press in Dallas in connection with a short story anthology he was editing became her short story "The Porch Swing" was to be included, so she wrote to him, informing him of her plan to put together a collection of bird essays. Greer responded on January 10, 1929, that he had spoken to P.L. Turner, president of Southwest Press, and that the publisher was not only receptive to the bird book, but would also like to bring out a volume of her collected or selected poems. Turner had published works by J. Frank Dobie and Eugene C. Barker, and was keenly interested in producing attractive, salable books. He had been the manager of Methodist Publishing House in Dallas for a number of years, gaining necessary experience before launching his own independent publishing venture.

Less than two months later, Baker had prepared a typescript of the first three essays, tentatively titling the whole "Nest Builders and Wayfarers." She submitted the manuscript and the publisher reacted promptly, offering a fifteen percent royalty. He thought the book should be illustrated, with decorative end papers and line drawings for chapter headings and endings. By March 22 Turner wrote that he hoped to bring out both the bird essays and a volume of Baker's poetry by the following fall, mentioning that the Yale University Press had reported a continuous demand for her two previous collections, *Blue Smoke* and *Burning Bush*.¹⁰

During the spring of 1929, P.L. Turner suffered from eye trouble and was away from the office for a time. During his absence, someone at Southwest Press returned the bird essays to Baker, having been told that the author

wished to revise the manuscript. There was no accompanying note, and consequently Baker was mystified when the package appeared on her doorstep. The confusion was soon straightened out, and she agreed to hold the manuscript for a fourth essay, on which she was still working.¹¹

In the last essay, which told about nesting habits of various species Baker had observed, she stated, "my own ideal has always been precisely that of the birds: domesticity – with wings." She described the view from her new backyard:

West Windows is the successor to Tanglewood. I would not say that it has more birds than that other green haven of blessed memory, but I am certain that it has more kinds, and more varied facilities for nest-building. From the dooryard the land slopes back through the sassafras grove to the old elm, and from that point drops, still more rapidly, through an overgrown pasture to the creek valley. The roots of the old tree are in themselves an invitation to rest there, with one's back against the rough and friendly bark; to forget Time, as one gazes across the tangle of shrub and sedge and sapling to the wavy line of taller trees in the valley, where the creek – like a poetic gloss to a line of prose – meanders along beside the railroad. On the farther side the hills, partly wooded, climb slowly; they spread a sylvan back-drop of varied green, where blowing clouds and drifting smoke throw changing patterns of unheeded marvel, all day long. Beyond them, still, is the lovely line, gentle but full of awe, where the pine-fringed hills meet the quiet sky. For it is across that blue infinity above the pine-tops that the daily pageant of the sunset marches; and it is from its clear view of that august arena that West Windows takes its name.¹²

The final essay contained an epilogue to the "bird-storm." Among the injured birds picked up after the storm was a male indigo bunting. About five years after its capture it was placed in a cage with a female canary. The canary had nested unsuccessfully several times but finally one egg proved fertile. The chick was at first a deep blue like the bunting, but later changed to the yellow and cream coloring of the mother, with perhaps a slight bluish tinge. Both the canary and the bunting belong to the finch family.¹³

Baker mailed the completed typescript on June 3, 1929, the day she left for California to attend her daughter Charlotte's graduation from Mills College. But publication of *The Birds of Tanglewood*, as the book was finally titled, had to be delayed until 1930. Since the artist originally approached to illustrate the book was busy with other projects, Baker suggested that perhaps Charlotte could do the job. Despite pressures from her graduate studies at the University of California at Berkeley, Charlotte managed to produce the work in time, but she was not completely satisfied with the drawings. The portrait of her mother sitting under a tree, surrounded by bird guides and with binoculars in hand, was the finest picture.

Charlotte's endpaper design, red silhouettes of birds and leaves on a black background, was strikingly bold in a simple, folk-art way. But the crimson clashed sadly with the paper chosen by the publisher for the binding: gold and black flying birds on a turquoise background. Charlotte also designed the title

inset, calligraphy illustrated with two tiny birds among autumn tree branches.¹⁴

Baker dedicated the book to the memory of her father and mother, "the builders of the vanished 'Tanglewood.'" But the concept of Tanglewood, the idea of leaving nature alone in its wild state simply to be what it is meant to be, remains alive and well in Nacogdoches. Charlotte Baker, later Montgomery, donated a number of acres of undeveloped land at the juncture of Pearl and Rusk Streets to create the Banita Creek Nature Reserve under the administration of the Natural Area Preservation Association. Dr. F.E. Abernethy spearheaded the movement to create a marked trail along Lanana Creek. Today Nacogdoches is twice blessed with wild areas where one may slip away from the noise and bustle of everyday life behind a veil of green into a mysterious realm where, except for the calls of birds and buzz of insects, the quiet compels one to walk softly, humble in the presence of those creatures whose forbearers ruled this land eons before humans had the audacity to intrude.

NOTES

¹"The First Fifty Years," manuscript, Karle Wilson Baker Papers, East Texas Research Center, Ralph W. Steen Library, Stephen F. Austin State University, Box 26, Folder 3. Hereinafter cited as "KWB" with the box number followed by a slash, then the folder number.

²Karle Wilson Baker, "The Birds Of Tanglewood," *The Yale Review* XI (October, 1921): pp. 118-129; Karle Wilson Baker, "Window Lore," *The Yale Review* XII (April, 1923): pp. 614-624; Hilton Ross Greer to Baker, January 10, 1929, KWB 4/20.

³Theodore Dreiser to Baker, May 11, 1910, KWB 4/19; Diaries, 1906-1934, KWB 24.

⁴Karle Wilson Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood* (Dallas, 1930), pp. 1-2.

⁵Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood*, p. 2; Also informal interviews with Baker's daughter, Charlotte Baker Montgomery.

⁶Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood*, p. 21.

⁷KWB 53/56.

⁸Karle Wilson Baker, "About the Birds," [Nacogdoches] *Daily Sentinel*, April 25, 1922.

⁹Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood*, pp. 44-48; correspondence with Hilton Ross Greer and P.L. Turner, KWB 4/20.

¹¹Correspondence with Hilton Ross Greer and P.L. Turner, KWB 4/20.

¹²Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood*, pp. 60-62.

¹³Baker, *The Birds of Tanglewood*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁴Correspondence with Turner, KWB 4/21.

NO GUARANTEE: MORDECAI F. HAM, EVANGELISM AND PROHIBITION MEETINGS IN TEXAS, 1903-1919

By Jerry Hopkins

Prohibition, as part of the progressive movement, involved evangelical Christians in Texas and the South. Professional evangelists were particularly drawn to prohibition, viewing it as a moral crusade to save individuals, the church, and society from destruction. To these evangelists drinking liquor was immoral. For Southern evangelicals prohibition had been a persistent preoccupation. In the South this concern over man's moral depravity, particularly as it was demonstrated in drunkenness, developed into a drive for absolution that found fulfillment in the revivals conducted by such Southern evangelists as Mordecai Fowler Ham.¹

Mordecai Ham was born in 1877 Allen County, Kentucky, into the family of a Baptist minister. His early years were spent in that rural county attending school, working, and going to church services. His father, Tobias Ham, and his grandfather, Mordecai F. Ham, Sr., were preachers. Ham was educated at Ogden College in Bowling Green and received a D.D. from Bob Jones College which was at that time located in Cleveland, Tennessee. He worked for some time in business in Chicago before entering the ministry and being ordained in 1901. With the exception of two years as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Oklahoma City, Ham was a full-time evangelist. From Anchorage, a suburb of Louisville, Kentucky, he conducted an extensive ministry of rallies, evangelistic campaigns, and radio programs. His most successful convert was William Franklin ("Billy") Graham, a product of Ham's Charlotte, North Carolina campaign in 1934.²

Ham thought that man needed the moral transformation that comes through spiritual regeneration. He obtained an early education on the evils of drink and later attacked alcohol as a manifestation of man's sinfulness. He grieved because his home state was one of the major centers of alcohol manufacturing and distribution, and he hoped that prohibition would eliminate this curse. Ham vigorously opposed liquor as one of many evils that kept man from experiencing a better life, one that contributed to the decline of spirituality and sober living. "To counter this threat," historian James H. Timberlake observed, "Middle-class Protestants once again sought to evangelize the masses, to promote social reform, and to foster temperance." Most evangelical leaders, especially revivalists such as Ham, advocated another great religious revival. An essential part of that sought-after revival was the prohibition of liquor. It was with this mind-set that Ham conducted campaigns involving many denominations and communities across the South. He began coming to Texas in June 1903 when he conducted meetings in Hico, resulting in 150 conversions. After this initial event, he held sixty meetings in Texas between 1903 and 1919 with varied success in winning people to the faith. From the first meeting in 1903 in Hico to his last regular campaign in 1940 in Fort Worth, Ham conducted a

total of seventy-four meetings in Texas that resulted in 60,260 additions to churches, but never complete victory for the prohibition cause. These meetings were typical of many such evangelical crusades immediately before the enactment of national prohibition.³

During the period leading up to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act designed to enforce prohibition, Ham's meetings emphasized the immorality of drunkenness and the evils of saloons. He recommended prohibition to solve the moral and social problem of liquor. Naturally the prohibition movement in Texas aroused the strong opposition of liquor interests. The state had experienced numerous efforts to enact legislation to limit or eliminate liquor. The *Dallas Morning News* raised alarm that the efforts of prohibitionists, particularly those allied with J.B. Gambrell and the Anti-Saloon League of Texas, were divisive and would result in the division of the Democratic Party in the state. The paper was concerned particularly that the selection of Colonel Tom Ball as a candidate in the Democratic Party primary would be a problem. Gambrell, the editor of the *Baptist Standard*, argued

It is strange that as wide awake paper as the Dallas News should fail to know that there has been an organized whiskey party within the Democratic party since the rise of the prohibition movement, and that they act together, with this difference, however, that the Prohibitionists act openly and the others secretly. But who ever knew an election in recent times when the saloons, through their organized agencies, did not have a candidate? We repeat that what the saloon men had done secretly, the Prohibitionists are doing now frankly and openly, and doing it very successfully, we are glad to think.⁴

The *Baptist Standard* printed evangelist Billy Sunday's brief article against saloons entitled "The Blight of Our Age" in which Sunday argued that the saloon was

the sum of all villainies. It is worse than war or pestilence. It is the crime of crimes. It is the parent of crimes, the mother of sins. It is the appalling source of misery, poverty and sorrow. It causes three fourths of the crime and of course is the source of three-fourths of the taxes that support that crime.

He stressed that legalized liquor was wrong and that liquor should be voted out for the sake of society. It helped only the saloonkeepers and the brewers, not the people, he argued. Thus the prohibition struggle would be waged in the hearts and minds of the people, but more explicitly at the ballot box. The moral component of the liquor issue allowed no room for compromise among evangelicals.⁵

The "wets," those who opposed prohibition, looked upon liquor as a legal and political issue rather than a moral dilemma. To counter the moral arguments of the evangelicals, they relied on political and legal arguments to gain support. Prohibitionists never admitted the legitimacy of these arguments; they could not, because their moral view of the issue refused to allow them to accept either compromise or any dispassionate analysis of the problem. Gambrell warned that the anti-prohibitionists would seek to obscure the issue

by openly supporting "local option," because they wanted to keep the liquor flowing where they could, not because they were giving up the fight.⁶

Pro-saloon forces charged that the churches in the Anti-Saloon League and their use of the pulpits violated the church's role in society. Preachers were exploiting their positions by engaging in such political rhetoric. One critic wrote that "a preacher who graduates from the pulpit into politics becomes a menace to good government." Nevertheless, evangelicals supported prohibition almost without exception, and evangelical churches became focal points of a grass-roots national movement against liquor, especially in the South. Despite denominational schisms, doctrinal differences, and periodic conflicts among religious groups, people of various sects joined in their opposition to alcohol. Many evangelicals believed that by supporting prohibition, they were spreading the democratic "principle that no man, body of men, no race of men, can live unto themselves."⁷

While evangelicals believed that prohibition was a manifestation of this moral principle, in political terms it resulted from a combination of forces that led to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. Neither "a bolt from the blue" nor a localized movement, prohibition had a number of causes. Booker T. Washington saw prohibition in the South as a movement among the masses, one that united conservative ministers and their congregations – mostly women – mobilizing them to oppose saloons and drunkenness. Prohibition legislation resulted from years of work by the National Temperance Society, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Anti-Saloon League, the Prohibition Party, and others, including churches. In Texas there was a vigorous effort to keep the prohibitionist forces from fragmenting. In 1914, as the Democratic gubernatorial campaign heated up, *Baptist Standard* editor Gambrell warned of a vicious fight. He pleaded with the anti-saloon forces to stay together, to consolidate their efforts to win the campaign for Tom Ball, who was the best option for prohibitionists who wanted to eliminate the saloon and liquor from Texas.⁸

During this period, churches, in particular conservative, evangelical churches, cooperated with each other in attacking the saloon. The Anti-Saloon League brought together various denominational societies to form a cohesive opposition to liquor. The prohibitionists organized city, county, and state groups across Texas to push the election of candidates favoring their cause. With most churches, women's organizations, such as the WCTU, and an umbrella movement such as the Anti-Saloon League of America pushing prohibition, the issue inevitably would be used by professional evangelists who were sensitive to the mood of the times.⁹

Mordecai Ham entered the prohibitionist movement early in his career. From 1907 to 1910 he devoted meetings in Kentucky almost exclusively to promoting, organizing, and battling for local-option victories for prohibition in the state. Ham often preached a rousing message on total abstinence, urging people to "Get on the Waterwagon!" Ham's objective was to evangelize – to win souls to the Christian life as he viewed it, including total abstinence from alcoholic

beverages. In the battle that he fought for salvation, he saw all opposing agencies as enemies. Obviously liquor and the saloon were such obstacles. They kept men out of the kingdom, even drove them to devilish deeds. Liquor, according to Ham and other evangelicals, was anti-Christian and anti-Church.¹⁰

To mobilize church members to support prohibition, it was necessary to view drink as a moral problem. Even though Ham and fellow evangelicals considered prohibition a moral question, their actions and the support they received from churches and other groups had political ramifications. For example, the Ball-Ferguson campaign in 1914 and the initiatives of the Anti-Saloon League in Texas mobilized the resources of churches, denominational publications such as the *Baptist Standard*, and the revival efforts of evangelists such as Billy Sunday and Mordecai Ham to support prohibition.¹¹

In 1914 Ham conducted a campaign in Cameron that resulted in 500 new members for local churches and a remarkable change in the community as a whole. Milam County voted out pool rooms by a majority of two to one. It was proudly noted that the city of Cameron gave "a handsome majority against them." Even the Knights of Pythias Lodge voted out their pool and forty-two tables and all the clubroom paraphernalia. As a result of Ham's meeting, a young men's prayer meeting was started at the courthouse each Sunday with an attendance of some 200 for each meeting. The local paper noted this effort, saying,

The group of young men are refusing to support any man who supports the saloon, or who is not clean in his life. This is a good example to older citizens of our community. The day is passed in Cameron when the booze gang can pull the wool over the eyes of these citizens, and no man can be elected to office who stands for iniquity.¹²

Even though the Anti-Saloon League, the conservative churches, and evangelists such as Ham supported prohibition in the primary election, the anti-prohibition forces won big in Texas. Gambrell confessed as much when he noted in the *Baptist Standard*, "The saloon forces won all along the line. The Senate is anti-prohibition and the House will be close. It is probable that one of the two congressmen-at-large, possibly both, will be prohibitionists." He went on to write that

We do not despair. We are not defeated. Great moral principles may be retarded, but they will triumph ultimately. We must all be true to our convictions and advocate them as persistently as ever.¹³

This certainly was Ham's feeling, even though the defeat was disappointing and disturbing, and he had worked hard in all his Texas meetings to support the Prohibition movement.

During this same time period Ham attacked the Democratic Party in Kentucky for its involvement with the liquor interests. "The Democratic Party of Kentucky has had its ... lesson that it cannot safely league itself with the liquor traffic The masses of the party will no longer stand for it." This certainly would have been his position regarding the Democratic Party in Texas as well. Ham's statement regarding the Democratic Party paralleled a remark

by George W. Young of the Anti-Saloon League. Young stated at the League's national convention in Atlantic City in July of 1915 that

If the Democratic Party in which I was born, and for which I contended for many years, has its future dependent upon the continued debauchery of this nation by liquor, the sooner it is buried in the bottom of the sea the better for our country. What I say I mean: I say the same for the Republican, the Progressive, and every other party in this nation.

Such statements, made by ministers who fought for the moral and spiritual welfare of their communities, likely had great political impact.¹⁴

Based on his view of liquor as a moral problem and on what he thought the Bible taught concerning its use, Ham favored total abstinence. This common position in the South was most acceptable to fundamentalists. Ham's background offers some clues to his zeal for prohibition. The religious convictions that led to his condemnation of alcohol were rooted in his conservative Baptist environment both as a youth and as an adult. Contacts with liquor-industry representatives also shaped his hostility. He accused some of his enemies of being financed by the liquor interests. In some ways prohibition became a personal battle he waged in the name of God, country, and common decency.¹⁵

Ham disclosed, while holding meetings in San Angelo and in Cameron, that his campaign against the saloons and liquor was tied to a family experience involving his brother, who was a traveling salesman. He related that his brother was admitted to a hospital in California and was on the brink of death. Ham and Annie Laurie, his wife, traveled to California to be with his brother. He indicated that he "made a covenant with God over the prostrate form of my own brother as he lay flickering betwixt life and death on the Pacific coast." He could not speak to his brother, whose condition was so precarious that "the slightest excitement might snap the thread of life." He asked the doctor what was wrong and the doctor replied, "A whiskey heart." Ham told the congregants that he had prayed for eighteen hours "on my knees wrestling with God for the life and the soul of my brother." During this time of wrestling

with God for the life of my brother, I made a solemn covenant with God that if he would spare the boy long enough to have another chance of salvation, I would never cease to fight the drink evil as long as I should live. My precious brother was spared and is today a happy Christian with a bright hope of Heaven, and I am trying to make good my covenant with God who spared him¹⁶

So Ham was committed to the prohibition initiative.

From 1907 until the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, Ham's meetings magnified the liquor question. In most of them Ham focused to some extent on saloons and liquor, often spearheading local option elections and efforts to close down saloons. In several of Ham's meetings in Texas there was a strong emphasis on prohibition that was in keeping with the majority of evangelicals who supported eliminating the manufacture and sale of liquor.¹⁷

While prohibition was an issue that attracted many supporters because of their belief that social ills could be cured by banning liquor, Ham was concerned with reform only as it was related to individual salvation. He believed that as man was redeemed, new life came to him through Christ. Such a religious experience presented the strange mixture of ideas that most evangelists possessed then. They faced the problem of an individualized salvation, but they found themselves engaged in a war against liquor on the basis of the legal transformation of society. Despite this inconsistency, they continued to pursue their goals — liquor eliminated, souls saved, and Christians revived. Preachers such as Ham, Gambrell, and J. Frank Norris insisted that the elimination of liquor and the saloon was essential to a good and stable society. This effort to reform society was not optional in their conception of the saloon and liquor as moral issues.

There were certain reforms that the meetings of Ham may have facilitated or initiated. His influence on the prohibition movement is undeniable based on his work during these early meetings in Kentucky, Tennessee, Kansas, and Texas. The religious decisions made during meetings in Cameron, Palestine, and San Angelo reveal the significance of his preaching and tactics in helping to shape public opinion. Those who pledged themselves to refrain from drinking, dancing, and other social evils illustrated this significance. There was never, however, the guarantee of a permanent cure. One critic of Ham later stated, "An evangelist does not guarantee a permanent cure: he does not indeed guarantee anything." Ham's leadership in the meeting in Palestine provided an important element in the effort to influence people in that area to support Prohibition and the initiative to remove liquor and the saloon from Texas.¹⁸

Ultimately the collaborative efforts of the Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the churches, and evangelists such as Ham resulted in the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the Volstead Act. In Texas between 1903 and 1919 Ham demonstrated the importance of organization in effecting political and social change. Despite his claims that his purpose was not social, his sermons, his church mobilization, his rallies and rhetoric certainly had social and political consequences, particularly in regard to prohibition. Ham may not have been able to "guarantee anything," but he did exert tremendous influence on voters through his emphasis on prohibition during his campaigns. He used the vehicle of evangelistic meetings to rally Christians in support of prohibition. In a similar way, Jerry Falwell and other evangelicals and fundamentalists have more recently sought to bring the public attention to bear on moral issues such as abortion, pornography, alcoholism, and related topics by what they have described as the "moral majority." The aim of such movements is to change society, to move it closer to what evangelicals and fundamentalists see as being righteous and pleasing to God.

NOTES

¹W.J. Cash, *Mind of the South* (New York, 1941), p. 233; James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1912* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), pp. 4-8, 17-18; William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959), pp. 393, 397, 402, 411, 437; J. Larry Hood, "Marching to Zion: Christianity and Progressivism in Nelson and Washington Counties, Kentucky," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 87 (1989), pp. 144-161; Robert H. Wiebe, "The Progressive Years, 1900-1917," in William H. Cartwright and Richard I. Watson, Jr., editors, *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 425-442; Thomas H. Appleton's study, "Like Banquo's Ghost: The Emergence of the Prohibition Issue in Kentucky Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1981), while it focuses on the years 1906-1908, furnishes insight into the growing strength of the prohibition movement in Kentucky and a model of analysis for other southern states.

²Edward F. Ham, *Fifty Years on the Battle Front with Christ: A Biography of Mordecai F. Ham* (Louisville, 1950), pp. 3-15, 102-104, 108, 113, 214; Wayne E. Ward, "Early Revivals and Evangelism Today," Leo T. Crisman, editor, *Baptists in Kentucky, 1776-1976: A Bicentennial Volume* (Middletown, Kentucky, 1975), p. 138.

³Timberlake, *Prohibition*, pp. 16-17; McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, pp. 439-440; Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., "Prohibition and Politics in Kentucky: The Gubernatorial Campaign and Election of 1915," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 75 (1977): pp. 28-54; Gregory Vickers, "Southern Baptist Women and Social Concerns, 1910-1929," *Baptist History and Heritage* 23 (1988): pp. 3-5; Ham, *Fifty Years*, pp. 291-293. Also see Jeanne Bozzell McCarty, *The Struggle for Sobriety: Protestants and Prohibition in Texas: 1919-1935* (El Paso, 1980), pp. 10-11.

⁴*Baptist Standard*, February 26, 1914, p. 4. For a general history of the Anti-Saloon League of Texas see "Anti-Saloon League of Texas," in *The New Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/AA/vaa2.html>. For a comprehensive analysis of Prohibition in Texas from the 1840s to the 1930s consult the article in *The New Handbook of Texas Online* on this topic.

⁵William A. Sunday, "The Blight of Our Age," *Baptist Standard*, April 23, 1914, p. 32.

⁶Booker T. Washington, "Prohibition and the Negro," *The Outlook*, March 14, 1908, p. 589; *Baptist Standard*, April 23, 1914, p. 1.

⁷Although this was an observation made by a Kentucky writer, it certainly was a sentiment felt and expressed by others across the South and in Texas particularly. J.W. Sowers, "Political Preachers," *Lexington Herald*, September 27, 1914; "The Saloon in the South," *The Outlook*, March 14, 1908, p. 582.

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⁹*San Angelo Weekly Standard*, February 26, 1915, p. 1; April 2, 1915, p. 8; Lewis L. Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era* (Austin, 1992), pp. 120-149.

¹⁰Jerry B. Hopkins, "Saved and Dry: Kentucky Local Option and Evangelist Mordecai F. Ham, 1907-1910," *The Quarterly Review (SBC)* 41 (1980): pp. 62-79; Jerry B. Hopkins, "Mordecai F. Ham: Prohibition and Sensational Evangelism in Kentucky, 1914-1915" (M.A. Thesis, Eastern Kentucky University, 1969); *Kentucky Advocate* (Danville), November 18, 1915; *Palestine Daily Herald*, May 19, 1914, p. 1; Jerry B. Hopkins, interview with Mrs. Mordecai F. Ham, March 8, 1969, Louisville, Kentucky.

¹¹R. Morton Darrow, "Techniques of Political Action," *Religious Perspectives in American Culture* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 171, 187; Timberlake, *Prohibition*, pp. 131-132; *Baptist Standard*, April 23, 1914, p. 32; April 30, 1914, p. 8; May 7, 1914, p. 31; June 11, 1914, p. 1; June 18, 1914, p. 4; June 25, 1914, p. 1; June 14, 1914, p. 9; July 16, 1914, p. 24; July 23, 1914, p. 8; August 13, 1914, p. 4; August 20, 1914, p. 1; *Palestine Daily Herald*, June 3, 1914, p. 1; June 12, 1914, p. 3; June 15, 1914, p. 5.

¹²*Baptist Standard*, May 7, 1914, p. 31.

¹³*Baptist Standard*, July 30, 1914, p. 8.

¹⁴*Kentucky Advocate*, November 18, 1915; George W. Young, "Saloon Elimination," *Proceedings Sixteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America* (Atlantic City, 1915), p. 251.

¹⁵*Kentucky Advocate*, November 18, 1915; *San Angelo Weekly Standard*, February 5, 1914, pp. 2, 4, 8; February 26, 1915, pp. 1, 2, 8; *Palestine Daily Herald*, May 19, 1914, p. 1; Ham, *Fifty Years*, pp. 95-97, 102, 165-175, 261; Timberlake, *Prohibition*, pp. 10-12.

¹⁶*The Cameron Herald*, January 22, 1914, p. 2; February 19, 1914, pp. 5, 26; February 26, 1914, p. 2; March 5, 1912, p. 1.

¹⁷J.W. Sowers, "Political Preachers," *Lexington Herald*, September 27, 1914; "The Saloon in the South," *The Outlook*, March 14, 1908, p. 582.

¹⁸Ham, *Fifty Years*, pp. 37-60, 99-124; *The Cameron Herald*, January 22, 1914, p. 2; February 19, 1914, pp. 5, 26; March 5, 1912, p. 1; Gerald W. Johnson, "Saving Souls," *The American Mercury*, July 1924, p. 365.

THE DAY BOOK OF BENJAMIN WALKER, 1846

By Emmitte R. Walker and Judith F. Russell¹

Benjamin Walker was born on December 27, 1811, in South Carolina, and moved with his family, friends, and kinsman to the newly opened Mississippi Territory around 1815. His father, Samuel Walker, Jr., had been a state legislator in South Carolina and became involved in Alabama politics soon after the state was formed from the Mississippi Territory. Samuel Walker served several terms in the Alabama House of Representatives, and, before his death in 1841, was the speaker of the Alabama House. Benjamin's mother, Fannie Eddins Walker, was one of a large Eddins family, the children of Benjamin Eddins of South Carolina, a revolutionary war hero.^{2 3}

When Benjamin Walker's father died, he bequeathed the "plantation on which he now lives in Lincoln County, Tennessee" to Benjamin. Soon thereafter, Benjamin was on the move along with many other people of the time, heading West. In 1846, about the time his wife Susan gave birth to their first child, Benjamin Walker was living in Aberdeen, Monroe County, Mississippi, and from there he set out to Texas to assess the prospects of the newly admitted state. He was accompanied by his second cousin, Benjamin Holloway. The namesake of both of the cousins was probably their great grandfather, Benjamin Bell of South Carolina, said to have been killed in a Cherokee uprising in 1779. Their family line also included their grandmother Martha-Jefferson Bell Walker, second cousin of President Thomas Jefferson.

Among the supplies that Benjamin bought for his Texas trip was a four-by-six-inch leather-bound journal. One the first page he wrote "*Benjamin Walkers Day Book, Bot in Aberdeen, Monroe County, Miss. September 3rd, 1846.*" The *Day Book* is still in the possession of the Walker family in Austin, Texas, and has been transcribed by family members. Some of the penciled pages are growing dim, but the pages written in ink are as clear as when they were written almost 160 years ago and the handwriting is legible.

The *Day Book's* pages chronicle one person's impressions of life of East Texas in the autumn of 1846. Benjamin wrote about Texas prospects ("good prairie land, but badly timbered") and dangers ("a cure for snake bite"). While traveling more than a thousand miles looking for land, he recorded, in addition to the everyday details of the journey, many folk remedies that he heard about, including one he thought would interest his wife: how to keep calico from fading.

The travelers often stayed with friends and family members. Benjamin, the record keeper, carefully noted each expense, however small, not only for himself but also so that he could settle up with his cousin — it seems that they had agreed to share expenses equally. Although they may have been self-reliant when it came to finding game for food, they had to spend hard cash for whiskey and for each of the river crossings they made by ferry. Many cross-

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ings are listed; usually the price was \$1.00 per person, which was about the same amount that they paid for their overnight stays.

At one point in the journey, or possibly on an entirely different trip, Benjamin visited the city of New Orleans. He made notes in his *Daybook* as he outfitted himself in good style, buying "2 pair casimer pants" at \$5 each, at a time when cattle sold for \$3 a head and land for less than \$1 per acre.

After his trip to Texas, Benjamin bought land in Arkansas, recording the transactions in his *Daybook*. From 1849 until the mid-1850s he purchased at least seven Military Warrants for land in Arkansas, plus some other acreage, and within a few years he had moved his family there. The family members are recorded in Polk Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas, in the Census of Population of 1860, but sometime after 1865 they moved to Texas. Benjamin died about 1868 in Hornsby Bend, Travis County, Texas. His descendants are now spread throughout the western states. His *Daybook*, transcribed below with his spelling and grammar intact, is his legacy to his twenty-first century family and readers.

Benjamin Walkers
DAY BOOK

This is a note book of Grandpa Walkers.¹

Bot in Aberdeen
Monroe County Miss
September 3rd 1846

A Receipt for the Cure of Pneuralgia

6 grains of Bromide of Pottassium daily
One month. Decrease one grain each
month until cured.

Shackelford _____
Bot _____ 124 lbs Rope [?]

cinchanedic [?]

B.T. Emry hickory _____
The probate court to be holden [?] in the
post On the 3 _____ Monday in July

[Page torn out]²

Colic in Horses

Take one pound of Epsom Salts. dissolve
it in not more than a half gallon of boiling
_____ water. drench the animal with it.
when you can hold your finger in it two
seconds. don't be afraid of scalding the
animal and a cure will result.

We arrived on the Sabine Riv on the 30th of
Sept 1846. Croßsed over into Texas Sabine
County thence up the river to Jas. M.
Burroughs⁶ through a poor pine hill country
from thence on the 1st of Oct to San
Augustine a poor Pine Hill country within a
few miles of San Augustine where we came
to good looking _____land which produces
pretty well but badly timbered. stayed all
nite 11 miles west of San Augustine at
Garretts from thence on the 2nd of Oct to
Nacogdoches 3rd from thence acroßs the
Angelina and up too miles to Sackville

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|------|
| Easters ⁷ & stayed until Monday morning | Coß [loss?] in exchange | .35 |
| the 5 Oct from thence acroßs some poor | Ferriage at Sabine | .25 |
| Prairies & acroßs the Neches River. | At Olfords 8 Nov 184__ | 2.00 |
| | At Nachitochis | 3.00 |

| | | |
|---|----------------------------------|------|
| Wm. W. Hill ⁸ | | |
| Washing[ton] County Independence | Ferriage acroßs the Bonge [?] in | .20 |
| 15 miles up the Brazos Cavinaugh | Louisiana | |
| Washing[ton] County F __ guhas 3 miles | At Grays | 2.00 |
| ____ Thomas [?] Birdwell ⁹ near ____ | Paid at Squires | 2.00 |
| | At ____ whiskey | .20 |
| Sackville A. Easter addreßs | Ferriages at Washiton | .40 |
| Nacogdoches County Douglas Texas | Paid at ____ on Sisily Island | 2.00 |
| | Ferriage at Mißs River | 1.50 |
| L.[S.?] A. Easter in Cherokee County | Ferriage at Te____ | .50 |
| | Paid at Rodney | 4.00 |
| John G. Berry ¹⁰ San Augustine Texas | At Port Gibson for apple | .30 |
| | At Lotts | 2.50 |
| | At Jones | 2.00 |
| | At Beamons | 2.00 |
| | At Irvines | 2.00 |
| | For whiskey at Spring ____t | .40 |
| | At ____ | 2.00 |

Settled

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| From Judge Lipscomb to Washington | | |
| [18?] From thence to Montgomery 30 | B. Walker bot from John Shackelford | |
| from Montgomery to Huntsville 30 | 2789 lbs of fodder a 1 cent per pound. | |
| miles from thence to Crockett 30 miles | | |
| from thence to Easters 40 from thence to | | |
| Nacogdoches 25 miles from thence to San | | |
| Augustine 35 from thence Olford 40 from | | |
| thence to Nacatosh 40 from thence to | | |
| Grays 37 from thence to Iquines 38 miles | | |
| from thence to Sicily Island 32 from | | |
| thence to Rodney 35 from thence to Port | | |
| Gibson 26 and to Eddins 11 from thence | | |
| to Raymond 36 from thence to Clinton, | | |
| Livingston, Canton 38 from thence | | |
| Koscinsko 45 to Starkville 63. ¹¹ | | |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|------|---------|
| Washington Oct 24 | .50 | Settled | Paid | |
| Ferriage acroß Beas [Bravos?] | | | | |
| Oct 29 one flask wiskey | .25 | | | ***** |
| Oct 30 | 3.00 | | | |
| Boots for Holloway | | Holloway paid | | \$6.00 |
| [Oct] 31 for ____ in Cincinnati | .50 | Wm. Coopwood | | 5.00 |
| ____ shoein J.H. horse | 2.00 | Walker | | 5.00 |
| Nov 1 for staying all nite at | 2.00 | Wm. Coopwood | | 10.00 |
| Dillards' | | Holloway | | 2.00 |
| Paid ____ | .50 | Holloway | | 1.00 |
| Whiskey | | Holloway | | 5.00 |
| Staid at Mack Master | 2.00 | | | |
| Ferriage at Nechea | .20 | Expenses of Coopwood, Holloway | | |
| Nov 5 for whiskey ____ | 1.00 | ____ Walker to Arkansas October 1847 | | |
| Loß in exchange | .25 | | | |
| At Nacogdoches | 2.00 | Coopwood paid to Walker | | \$15.00 |
| At San Augustine | 2.00 | Holloway paid ____ | | 14.00 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------|
| | Coopwood paid | 15.00 |
| | Holloway do. | 14.00 |
| A receipt for the cure of Dysentary. | Walker do. | 15.20 |

| | | |
|---|-------------------|--------|
| Take equal portions of peach tree & elder bark the out side bark scraped off. make a tea & drink freely. is said to cure in 12 hours. | | Cts. |
| | Due to Coopwood | 26 2/3 |
| | Due from Holloway | 75 1/3 |
| | Due to Walker | 46 1/3 |

Bill of Expenses to Arkansas

A remedy for snake bite.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|---|
| Paid first nite Pontotoc | \$4.50 | A weed called croßswork. It grows various height. the leaves grow out of the stem to a T at a place opposite each other. The too next leaves come out from opposite sides of the stem and so on croßsing or changing sides as they grow ____ the leaf is long ____ narrow and the top side quite rough. take the roots stem ____ leaves. bruise and boil in sweet milk. take it ____ ____ ____ apply some to the bite to affect a cure. |
| 2. Nite Oxford | 3.75 | |
| Ferriage at Talhatchy | .30 | |
| 3. Esq. Ellisons | 2.65 | |
| 4 at Robertson | [??] | |
| 5. at Houston | 3.60 | |
| 6. at Hellena | 5.25 | |
| 7. at Bro ____ona | 2.25 | |
| Ferriage acroßs the White River | .75 | |
| 8. at Robertsons | 1.80 | |
| 9. at Wm Robinsons | [??] | |
| 10. at the gun ____Comills | 2.50 | |
| 11. at Stillwell | 12.00 | |
| At Montgomery | 1.50 | |

B. Walker

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---|-----------|
| At Wm Robinsons | .00 | | |
| Hendy | 2.75 | C. McClendon ¹² D ____ to | |
| Croßsing White River | .60 | B. Walker | |
| | | 309 | lbs bacon |
| | \$44.20 | 4 | |
| Holloway & Walker at Pike | 1.60 | | |
| At Helena | 3.00 | 12.36 | |
| Ferriage at Helena | 1.00 | 21.00 | for corn |
| Ferriage at Coldwater | .30 | 33.36 | |
| At Poone | 2.12 | 9.00 | |
| At Coffeville | 3.00 | 24.36 | PAID |
| At Houston | 2.00 | | |
| At Pikeville | .25 | | |
| | \$13.27 | | |
| | [divide by 2] | L [?, possibly S] Holloway to B. Walker | |
| | \$6.63 | [Du?] | |
| Holloway due to Walker | \$6.63 | 15 stacks fodder | |
| | .46 | weighing | |
| | 7.09 | 1227 lbs ech | |
| | | 15 | |
| | | 18405 at ? ct | |
| | | 9202 | \$92.02 |
| 44.20 [divide by 3] 14.73 1/3 | \$44.20 | To 108 head stock | |
| | | hogs at 1 dollar | |
| | \$ cts | per head | \$108.00 |

15 head stock
cattle at \$3.00 per
head \$45.00
1000 bushel corn
at 25 cts per
bushel \$250.00

The above rects and certrificates enclosed
by Registered letter to W.H. Halliburton¹⁴
of Dewitt Arkansas. at McDade Bastrop
Co T____

Due 1st Nov 1849

Benjamin Eddins
Or Or [possibly "do do as in ditto"]
To Benjamin Walker
Fifteen dollars loaned
Money 8th of March 1850

Benjamin Walker Bot of Joel M. Acker
one land warrant No. 59251 calling for
160 of land and issued in the name of
William Cothran late a corporal in Capt.
Stewarts company Battalion MiBs
Voluntary under date of May 30th 1849.

Paid B. Walker

Benjamin Walker Bot of Benjamin L.
Howell late a Sergeant of Capt Ackers
company 2nd regiment MiBs Volunteers
one land warrant No. 51580 calling for
160 acres of land issued to said Benj. L.
Howell 22nd day of March 1849.

Jan 28th 1885¹³

D.R. James to T.J. Walker
To 180 lbs pork at 5 cts. 900

T. N. Porter
Helena, Ark.

James, Goyens
To 664 lbs pork at 5 cts 3320

Mr. I hangr [?]
Memphis, Tenn

Rect. of P.J. Crutchfield of State of
Arkansas

Between Millers and Connells some good
prairie land

Receives for \$157.53 N [Warrant?]
No. 7314 Littlerock Oct 2nd 1856 to Benj.
Walker of Arkansas Co. Ark. Being for
315 6/100 acres of land.

To wash Calico.

Rect of C.P. Bashard, receive for \$50 for
40 acres land - to Benj Walker of Ark.
County Ark. Into Little Rock Ark 9 Nov
1852.

Infuse three gills of salt in one gallon of
boiling water and put the calico in while
hot and leave it till cold and in this way
the colours are sun dried permanent.

W.W. Adams ____ of State of Ark.
Certificate of Comtion by Benj. Walker of
Mil Land warrant no. 43180 in name of
Mich'l Sheriden for 160 acres of land also
of Mil Land warrant No. 47130 in name of
Wm. Calvert for 160 acres also M.L.
Warrant no 13801 in name of Hardy
Robinson for 80 acres land

Po[r]tage from Miller to N. Orleans

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| Bot in New Orleans | 2.00 |
| 2 pair casimer pants | 10.00 |
| 1 ____ common ____ | 2.00 |
| 1 vest | 2.50 |
| 1 Blanket coat | 2.00 |
| 1 shirt | 1.50 |
| 1 pocket knife | 1.00 |
| 1 purse | .25 |

M.L. W. 38489 in name of N.C. Hawkins
for 76.88 acre all ____ 9 Nov 1852.

Due Walker

2.00

Take 1 Dram Ext Bark

_ oz aloes

_ oz Rhubarb

7 oz Black Snake Root

1 oz Pesuman Barks

Paid

[This is a very faint penciled page]

Gave to _____

Put the above mixture in one quart of good
speritts. Take a common dram morning
noon & at night so as cause at least 2 loose
stools every 24 hours

\$10.00

5.00

5.00

5.00

_ 5.00

2.00

32.00

17.88 Settled

To Holloway

To _____

[signed] Dock Jas. B. Vaught¹⁵

[signed] James B. Vaught

Take 20 grs of Blue Maßs - 10 of specie
- 15 of Calomel - mix & make in to six
Pills. Take 2 pills every 4 hours - until
you have taking the last 2 pills. If they
should not purge in two hours after taking
last 2 pills - take a tea cup of strong sima
tea every 2 hours until they have purged
some four or five times. Any motion over
five restrain by taking Landinains opium
or paregoric - thus commences your
Batters War _ - _ n teas as Drinks.

September the 12th 1846 loaned S.
Holloway¹⁶ 50 cts. Paid.

Walker bot for Saml Holloway _____
pounds of pork _____ in 1846. \$5.46 Paid

Due Walker from S. Holloway \$2.30. The
above is paid except 30 cents. [signed] B.
Walker

| | |
|------------------------|--------|
| | \$ cts |
| From Holloway | 10.37 |
| At Nacogdoches | 5.00 |
| Holloway paid at Jones | 1.00 |
| At Beeman | 5.00 |
| At Theens | 2.00 |
| | 23.37 |
| To be taken from | 5.00 |
| | 18.37 |

Town 2 Range 3
C.C. & I. W. Alday [?]

Walker loaned to S. Holloway on the 24th
of January 1848 \$25. 00 to pay for
Whiting gin.

Settled

N[?]o Csamam _____ t

12.27

[x] 15

18405

Walker paid for Holloway

To one pr Boots \$3.00

For shoeing horse 2.00

\$5.00

Walker paid for Mitchell 2.05

Mitchell paid for Walker \$15.00

Holloway and Walker Expenses from

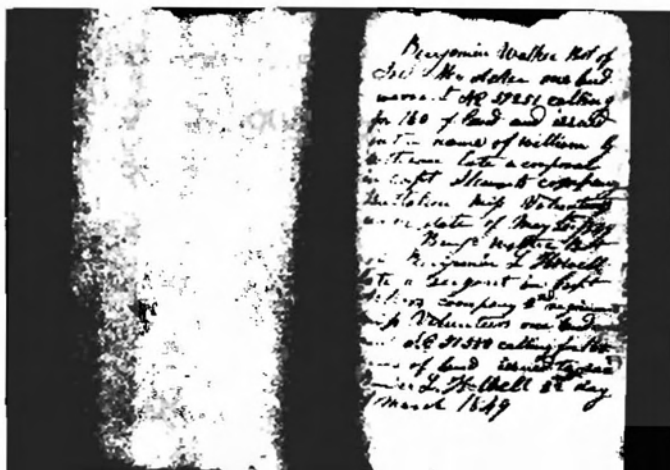
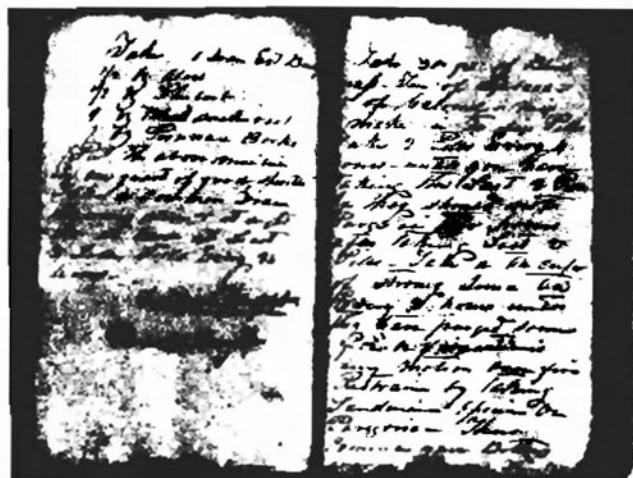
Washington, Texas home

Total divided by 2 \$40.75

20.37 _

Holloway paid 18.37 _

[Scratch page of additions, subtractions,
and divisions of costs]



BOOK NOTES

¹The transcribers wish to thank all of the members of the Samuel Walker Research Group, especially Neva Carmichael and Shirley Nobles Erickson, for their help with interpretation and identification of the individuals mentioned in the *Daybook*.

²Judith F. Russell, "The Samuel Walker, Jr., Family Bible," *Quill, Old Edgefield District Genealogical Society*, Volume XX, Number 6 (November/December 2004): pp. 108–111.

³Margaret Watson, *Greenwood County Sketches: Old Roads and Early Families* (Greenwood, South Carolina, 1982), pp. 224–225.

⁴Believed to be a notation by Benjamin's granddaughter Myrtle Walker, daughter of John and Demarius Hudler Walker.

⁵The missing page possibly had information about the trip across Mississippi and Louisiana from their home in Aberdeen, Monroe County, Mississippi, since the next page begins with the Sabine River crossing.

⁶James M. Burroughs, lawyer and farmer, is found in the 1850 Census of Population, Sabine District, Sabine County, Texas.

⁷Sackville Easter was the step-son of Benjamin Walker's sister, Martha Jefferson Walker who married, as his second wife, Champion Easter of Limestone County, Alabama. S. Easter and his family are found on the 1850 Census of Population, Cherokee County, Texas.

⁸William W. Hill, farmer and his family, are found in the 1850 Census of Population, Burleson and Brazos, Burleson County, Texas.

⁹Thomas G. Birdwell, 1850 Census of Population, Walker County, Texas. In the 1840 Census of Population, he was living in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

¹⁰John G. Berry, farmer born in North Carolina, and his family are found in the 1850 Census of Population, San Augustine District, San Augustine County, Texas.

¹¹This series of mileage distances traces the 649-mile route from Texas beginning at Washington, north of Houston then to Montgomery, Huntsville, Crockett, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Sicily Island, Louisiana, Port Gibson, Mississippi, Raymond, Clinton, Livingston, and Canton, Mississippi, Kosciusko, Mississippi, and Starkville, Mississippi.

¹²Thought to be Charles McClendon, whose daughter Burma married into the Coopwood family. Charles McClendon was also closely associated with Samuel Holloway.

¹³This would appear to be an entry made by Thomas Walker long after the death of his father Benjamin Walker, some fifteen years after settling in Lee County, Texas.

¹⁴W.H. Halliburton, clerk, and his family are found in the 1850 Census of Population, Arkansas Township, Arkansas County, Arkansas.

¹⁵James B. Vaught, doctor, and his family are found on the 1860 Census of Population for Beat Number 81, Nacogdoches County, Texas.

¹⁶Samuel Holloway was the brother of Benjamin Holloway. He died in Aberdeen County, Mississippi, 1858.

EAST TEXAS NEWS AND EVENTS

By Mark Barringer

The East Texas Historical Association held its Spring meeting in Huntsville on February 16, 17, and 18, 2006. Scholarly session topics included Huntsville History, Evolution and the Bible in Early Texas Classrooms, and Small Towns and Segregation. Longtime ETHA member and past-president Bob Bowman of Lufkin delivered the banquet address on Friday evening, and Ricky F. Dobbs of Texas A&M University – Commerce, spoke at the Saturday luncheon about perceptions of Lyndon B. Johnson. Attendance was above average at all events, and thanks are due to Program Chairs Ty Cashion and Caroline Crimm, along with program committee members Gene Preuss and Bernadette Pruitt, for their fine work.

Jeffrey Owens presented the Lucille Terry Award to Judge Jim Lovett of Red River County for the restoration of the courthouse in Clarksville. This award, presented each Spring at the Saturday awards luncheon by the East Texas Historical Association and the Texas Forestry Museum, recognizes outstanding examples of historic preservation in East Texas. The Red River County Courthouse is the second such structure to receive the Terry Award in the past two years, following the Hopkins County Courthouse in 2005. It seems that the courthouse preservation initiatives undertaken by local communities and supported generously by the Texas Historical Commission are paying off in fine fashion, and we hope that the trend will continue.

ETHA Past-President Don Willett of Texas A&M University – Galveston was honored with the Ralph W. Steen Award for his contribution to the teaching, study, and promotion of East Texas history. Don has been involved in teaching and promoting East Texas history for many years, quite often by acting as program chairman whenever the ETHA membership demanded a spring excursion to the Tremont House. He is a most deserving recipient of the award, and we extend our heartiest congratulations.

The Southeast Region of Phi Alpha Theta, the National Honor Society in history, met in conjunction with the ETHA in Huntsville in February. Undergraduate and graduate students from area colleges and universities presented their work at several sessions and joined the ETHA membership for the awards luncheon on Saturday. Dr. Caroline C. Crimm, faculty advisor of the Phi Alpha Theta chapter at Sam Houston State University, presented prizes for Best Undergraduate Paper and Best Graduate Paper, and plans were made for next year's regional meeting at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches.

The Fall meeting of the East Texas Historical Association will be held on September 21, 22, and 23 at the Fredonia Inn in Nacogdoches. Vice President Dan Utley chairs the program committee, assisted by Bob Bowman, Cynthia Beeman, Perky Beisel, and Bill O'Neal. Check the ETHA website for more information about the Fall meeting as it becomes available.

The Georgiana and Max Lae Lecturer for 2006 will be Jeff Guinn, recently retired books editor and senior writer for the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* and author of the critically acclaimed *Our Land Before We Die: The Proud History of the Seminole Negro*. The lecture will take place on Thursday, September 21, at 7:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the University Center on the campus of Stephen F. Austin State University.

Mr. Guinn is an award-winning journalist and historian who has authored eleven books, including *You Can't Hit the Ball With the Bat On Your Shoulder* (with Bobby Bragan); *Sometimes a Fantasy: Midlife Misadventures With Baseball Heroes*; *The Dallas Cowboys*; and *The Autobiography of Santa Claus*, a *New York Times* bestseller now in its sixth printing. He is a frequent guest on national radio and television programs such as NPR's *Talk of the Nation* and CBS *Sunday Morning*, and his writings have been adapted for stage and screen. For the Lae Lecture in September, Mr. Guinn will speak about the history of Christmas in America.

ETHA board member Jonathan Gerland's *Steam in the Pines: A History of The Texas State Railroad*, is the latest addition to the Ann and Lee Lawrence series, which also includes John and Betty Oglesbee's *San Augustine: A Texas Treasure*, Gail K Beil and Tom Watson McKinney's *The Texas and Pacific Depot in Marshall*, Theresa Kurk McGinley's *Old Town Spring*, and Fred Tarpley's *Jefferson: East Texas Metropolis*. Bob Glover's *Camp Ford*, previously out of print, is once again available as well. To purchase copies of these or other Association publications, visit our web site at <http://www.easttexas-historical.org>.

ETHA member Ron Ellison received an award from the Texas Baptist Historical society for his book, *Calvary Baptist Church, Beaumont, Texas: A Centennial History, 1904-2004*. Ron is retired from teaching history and government at The Woodlands High School, and has published other books and numerous articles on the history of Baptists in Texas. Congratulations to Ron for this prestigious honor, and best wishes for continued success in the field.

As this issue went to press, the West Texas Historical Association was again planning to entertain a contingent from east of the Trinity in April at its annual meeting. ETHA Executive Director and Editor Archie McDonald, along with Joe Early and Past-President Gail Beil, were to represent the association in Lubbock. Joe's topic was "The Hayden Controversy," while Gail was planning to talk about "Martin Dies and the Marshall Housewives' Rebellion." If past experience holds, the WTHA members will be most cordial and welcoming of hosts.

Finally, we are saddened to note the passing of two longtime and dedicated ETHA members. Dr. Marilyn McAdams Sibley, formerly professor of history at the University of Houston and a past-president of the Texas State Historical Association, passed away on January 19, 2006, after a short illness. Dr. Sibley was educated at Sam Houston State University, the University of Houston, and Rice University. She was a past recipient of the Piper Award for excellence in teaching and the Somerfield G. Roberts Award from the Sons of

the Republic of Texas for *Travelers in Texas*, published in 1967.

Dr. Norman Black of Longview died on December 11, 2005, and with his passing the ETHA lost a faithful and beloved patron. One of the most respected dentists in Texas, Dr. Black was passionate about history and historic preservation. He served as a member of the Gregg County Historical Commission for forty-three years and helped make it one of the most distinguished such boards in the state. His list of accomplishments is nearly boundless; Dr. Black probably did as much as any individual in East Texas over the past half-century to promote and protect the historic resources of the region. He was a fixture at ETHA meetings for years and was one of the first people to welcome me and make me feel at home when I joined the organization several years ago. He was much-loved, and will be sorely missed.

BOOK NOTES

By Archie P. McDonald

This column allows the *Journal* to note additional publications beyond those reviewed by scholars in the next section. This enables us to call attention to many more publications than space available in the regular review section provides.

Cronies: Oil, The Bushes, And The Rise Of Texas, America's Superstate, by Robert Bryce (Public Affairs, New York: 2004 – \$26), provides a political viewpoint of how Texas came to dominate the United States. It begins with the nexus of the George H.W. Bush-James A. Baker III, relationship, who are united by oil, country clubs, oil, wealth, and oil. Extensive coverage is given to what happened to Erle Halliburton's oil field service company, Brown & Root, and Baker Botts – Baker's family law firm in Houston – when they essentially merged with Texas and then national Republican politics. Of course, Texas' national dominance began with Lyndon B. Johnson and "Mister Speaker" Sam Rayburn, but then the mantle settled on Bush-Baker (Bryce "twins" them). The goal was to make Texas Republican, Bush president, and the oil industry THE dominate force in American government-business. They prevailed, says Bryce, evidenced by the reign (2001) of George W. Bush, Richard Cheney, and Congressman Tom Delay. This paragraph illustrates the message: "The overriding message from Bush, DeLay, and the entire Texas crony network, it appears, is that all this secrecy is good for us, that all is well in America. *Don't worry, we're told, the people who are in power are all Boy Scouts: loyal, honest, brave and hardworking. Furthermore, the fact that we are helping business is good for America. Government needs to run more like a business.*" [Author's emphasis]

Michener: A Writer's Journey, by Stephen J. May, with foreword by Valerie Hemingway (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr, Norman, OK 73069-8216) takes me back to a stormy Sunday in 1982, about 1:30 p.m., and a English accented voice on the telephone wondering if he and "Jim" could stop by later in the day for a visit. I knew from the newspapers that James Michener, America's leading novelist/historian/documentary-style reporter, had announced plans to write a novel in conjunction with Texas' Sesquicentennial. Two more calls announcing delays had me wondering which of my "friends" had me in the grip of a practical joke. But the real Jim Michener showed up, we had dinner, and because of the lateness of the hour, agreed to meet in my office the next day. We did – for four of the most intriguing hours I have experienced. Michener asked questions, wrote down notes on my answers, and, later, I saw some evidence of our visit in his *Texas*. We met on a few other occasions, at TSHA meetings and a social gathering in Austin, and then he moved on, which May tells us was a true Michenerism – always moving on. This is a fascinating biography. May tells you the facts of Michener's life, of course, but more than that, he interprets and explains a person anyone would agree was an enigma. There are some warts here, as there

are upon us all, but also much to admire and much to learn about this remarkable author.

On the other hand, there is *The Official Guide To Christmas In The South, Or, If You Can't Fry It, Spray Paint It Gold*, by David C. Barnette (HarperCollins Publishers, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022, \$14.95). This slender volume first appeared in paperback in 2004 and now has been promoted up to hardcover. It is filled with Southernisms written by someone who went to college in Vermont. The writer's ID does not say where he lives now. Example: "Advertising the family name. This is the only time of year when five bucks and a poinsettia can get the family name in the church bulletin" (p. 5), and so on for about 120 pages.

Changing The Face Of Power: Women In The U.S. Senate, photos by Melina Mara, introductions by Cokie Roberts, Senator Barbara Mikulski, and Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson, and interviews by Helen Thomas (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819, \$34.95), is part of the press' Focus On American History Series for the Center for American History, directed by Don Carleton. The heart of the volume is Mara's photos of several women senators. The presentation is bi-partisan, but Nacogdoches' own Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas), and her daughter are featured on the dust jacket. If anything, the piece tries so hard to be bi-partisan that Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) receives less space and emphasis than most other women senators. The photos featured candid moments, including Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA) checking her makeup in the ladies' room mirror. None could be termed "glamour" photos; they feature women at work – and my favorite features the feet of Senator Maria Cantwell (D-WA) clad in high heels, amidst the wingtips of male colleagues from the Senate. Thomas' interviews become repetitive – all fourteen female senators in 2005 were glad to have that much female company and all think a woman will be president within twenty years. And those sentiments are bi-partisan, too.

How America Goes To War, a part of The Modern Military Tradition series by Frank E. Vandiver (Greenwood Heinemann, P.O. Box 6296, Portsmouth, NH 03802-6926, \$43.95), is presumably Vandiver's last book since it was published posthumously. Vandiver's academic career began officially early in the 1950s with a teaching post at Washington University and ended fifty years later as a past president of two universities and director emeritus of the Mosher Institute. His life as an academic really began in Austin where his father taught mathematics at the University of Texas. Frank was a genius, one of the few most of us ever knew. He directed my thesis at the old Rice Institute before passing me off to Harry Williams; he influenced SMU to publish *Make Me A Map Of The Valley* for me; he taught me more than any other about writing. So it is painful to say that this is Frank's "last" book. It is also inaccurate, because Frank's touch will be present in every book written by a legion of graduate students. This one, like so many others in Frank's bibliography, is about war. The mystery of Iraq made him want to know more about how America entered other wars. This is Frank's report.

When The Mississippi Ran Backwards: Empire, Intrigue, Murder, and the New Madrid Earthquake, by Jay Feldman (Free Press, 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020 – \$27), weaves a tale of William Henry Harrison v. Tecumseh (empire), the Lewis brothers of Kentucky (murder), and a natural phenomenon (earthquake, the Mississippi River running backwards, and the whole megillah – scientific and folkloric – of the quakes that shook middle America in the winter of 1811-1812). Whew! The Harrison-Tecumseh confrontation is good history presented in highly readable form; the Lewis brother's gruesome murder of the slave George emphasizes some of the worse aspects of slavery; and the story of the quake is interesting. Now, that is an interesting word. By it, I mean to say that I did not understand all I read about the scenic aspects of quakes in general and these in particular, but I plowed through it because Feldman used it to tie the Indian story and the slave story together. Neatly, too. I learned none of this during my growing up summers (c.1948-1953) on Uncle Everett Chartrau's farm, located three miles north of New Madrid on Highway 61. But I know the lay of the land, and remember seeing wallpaper split by minor shakes that had disturbed the area when I was back in Texas in school.

Sarah Ragland Jackson's *Texas Woman of Letters: Karle Wilson Baker* (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354, \$34.95), is a long overdue biography of Texas' first lady of letters – "first" as in foremost as well as in, well, *first* woman to be so judged. Karle Wilson arrived in Nacogdoches with migrating parents and married a Baker, a member of one of the community's most prominent families. They raised two children – Thomas, who followed his father into banking, and Charlotte, an artist who followed her mother into writing. Oh, and by the way, Karle Wilson Baker established a national reputation as a poet – largely via many poems published in the *Yale Review* and three stand-alone volumes – a lecturer in great demand nationally, and finally as a novelist. These are the two threads of Jackson's biography – Baker the homemaker, nurturer of Tommy and Charlotte, and Baker the modern, independent woman who traveled alone and held her own with the likes of Robert Frost and even crusty old Walter Prescott Webb – though a little less surely with Webb, whom I also knew, and agree he could make you wet your pants with a glower. Jackson has lived within a double stone's throw of Karle Wilson Baker's beloved Tanglewood homestead for more that three decades, and with Baker's spirit as the leading literary figure of a small, East Texas community nearly as long. She had access to all Baker family records, memorabilia, and surviving Bakers. She taught literature in the same English department in which Baker had taught a half-century earlier. Jackson is a perfect fit for this topic. The result is a biography, literary analysis, and tribute, all in one, and all done well.

BOOK REVIEWS

Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers, Jesús F. de la Teja and Ross Frank, editors (University of New Mexico Press, MSC 11 6290, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001) 2005. Contents. Glossary. Biblio. Contributors. Index. P. 338. \$24.95. Paperback.

It is not possible in a brief review to critique eleven chapters by contributors to this anthology. What follows is a description of its contents and a comment on its editing.

The subtitle is vitally important in understanding the focus of this work. Instruments of social control in broad context are examined in Spain's colonies within what became the United States – Florida, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, and Alta (Upper) California. Also included are locations across the northern tier of states in present-day Mexico – Nueva Vizcaya, Northeastern New Spain, Sonora, Saltillo, and Nuevo Santander. An additional chapter touches on North America only tangentially in that it examines the complex question of who controlled the king of Spain. And, yes, there were subtle controls over a seemingly all-powerful, divine right monarch.

Naturally, social control varied by geography, religion and missionary efforts, foreign presence and pressure (early on from the English and French and later from the United States), multi-ethnicity (Spaniards, non-Hispanic Euro Americans, Indians, and people of African descent), population densities, and relations between indigenous groups such as Apaches and Comanches. Despite these variables, contributors point out that social control encompassed a myriad of ways in which a society attempts to maintain order by persuading, coercing, or educating individuals to accept and behave according to the principles and values of the group of which they are members, want to become members, or have been compelled to become membership. What worked reasonably well as social control in one colony worked not at all in others.

Since the journal in which this review appears relates primarily to Texas topics, I will use the contribution by Juliana Barr as an example of social control in the future Lone Star State. Barr cogently points out that Texas can best be described as divided into quadrants with the Spanish-controlled area constituting only one-fourth of the totality. The other quadrants were under native control – Apaches in the west, Caddos in the east, and Comanches and Wichitas in the north. Over-all, Texas was a huge land uniquely characterized by native dominance – a point emphasized by my colleague F. Todd Smith in his new book on Texas Indians, *From Dominance to Disappearance*, published by the University of Nebraska Press (2005). Accordingly, social control early in colonial Texas turned out to be as much if not more a matter of Indians controlling how Spaniards responded rather than the reverse.

This book is expertly edited. Particularly impressive is the cross-referencing of points raised in one area to their applicability in other locales. Thus,

these chapters do not stand apart like individual ships at sea but rather come together as integrated whole much like a fleet.

Donald E. Chipman
University of North Texas

New Orleans and the Texas Revolution, Edward L. Miller (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2004. Contents. Foreword. Epilogue. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 275. \$29.95. Hardcover.

In *New Orleans and the Texas Revolution*, Edward L. Miller brilliantly portrays a vital and passionate relationship. Drawn together by dreams of freedom and a better world, but more importantly by the lucrative cash crops and expansive dreams, both locales pledge fealty to the other. Like all burning romances, the relationship was tempestuous.

With the formation of the "Friends of Texas" at Banks Arcade in New Orleans, Miller describes the meeting of the economic houses that bankrolled the Texas revolt. Led by William Christy, the pledges to spread democracy and fight against tyranny covered possible economic gains for a motley and divergent association of supporters. Their goal – to open Texas economically, either by a return to federalism in Mexico or the drastic move of Texan independence. By October 1835, merchants had raised as much as \$35,000 in supplies and arms for Texian Rebels. All the while, maintaining a delicate balance of donations against neutrality laws.

The zenith of the blind support to the Mexican federalist cause appears in the Tampico expedition under General Jose Antonio Mexia. Had Mexia succeeded, vast economic and strategic rewards would have followed. With the failure of the expedition and the loss of the investment, support for Mexican federalists ended. The financial supporters of the Texian cause now demanded no aid for the Texian Rebels unless their revolution was for independence.

Although the victories of the Texian rebels in the latter months of 1835 secured a navy for Texas, with the beginning of 1836, the "Friends of Texas" support had waned. Symbolically, Miller points out that a new Texian naval vessel, the *Brutus*, was almost prevented from leaving. The fall of the New Orleans Gray's at the Alamo and in the massacre at Goliad rekindled massive support. So important was William Christy in this support, that after the victory at San Jacinto, Christy received a petition of appreciation along with General Cos' bridle and saddle.

Miller breaths life into what could have been possibly the dry material of an economic history. Passions leap from the page, driving the reader to the next event. Although his sources are drawn from varied locales that certify his work as scholarly, his ease and skill at writing make this work a valuable source for the general reader.

Andrew Reynolds Galloway
Schreiner University/St. Phillips College

Texas and the Mexican War, Charles M. Robinson, III (Texas State Historical Association, The University of Texas at Austin, 1 University Station D0901, Austin, TX 78712-0332) 2004. Contents. Notes. Appendix. Illus. Index. P. 109. \$7.95. Paperback.

Historians generally portray the Mexican War in strictly national terms. Here, Robinson gives the reader a clear, sharp account of the war from the Texas viewpoint.

Robinson begins with a summary of the reasons for the United States' going to war with Mexico. While ignoring the fact that the slaveholding South was anxious to acquire the western territories for expansion, he points out a little recognized feature – that both countries were desirous of conflict for their own reasons. But it was the American administration, led by President Polk, who made the first move by sending troops under General Zachary Taylor to the Texas coast just north of the disputed boundary with Mexico. This ultimately led to a skirmish, and then to the declaration of war.

Texans from the start played key roles in the war. For example, Taylor enlisted the Texas Rangers into federal service. The Texans were especially eager to fight Mexicans, and their enthusiasm caused them to commit atrocities; Robinson recognizes the Ranger regiment of mostly East Texans under Colonel George T. Wood for avoiding this, at least early in the conflict. The Rangers fought bravely in the front lines, but continued atrocities forced Taylor to withdraw them from action. General Winfield Scott relied on help from the Rangers' erstwhile commander, Samuel Walker, a captain in the Mounted Rifles Regiment, who had a part in developing, with Samuel Colt, the military-style revolver which solidified the Rangers' fame.

Nolan E. Boles

Nacogdoches, Texas

Spartan Band: Burnett's 13 th Texas Cavalry in the Civil War, Thomas Reid (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336) 2005. Contents. Illus. Tables. Appendices. Biblio. Index. P. 240.

They were the common soldiers of our Civil War. Actually, they were the "uncommon" common soldiers. Their exploits and suffering have been chronicled by such Civil War luminaries as Bell Wiley, James McPherson, and Jeff Wert. Yet, if you read these brilliant accounts, you are struck by the fact that these works primarily explore the fates of the soldiers serving in the Eastern and Western theaters at the expense of those serving in the Trans-Mississippi.

Thomas Reid's *Spartan Band*, the story of the 13th Texas Cavalry, is a welcome addition and expansion of our knowledge of these unquestionably stalwart but relatively unappreciated soldiers who served west of the Mississippi River. Reid weaves this tale from the politics of recruitment, to the harsh and tedious day-to-day realities of soldiering, to the terror and rush of

battle, to the final reality of defeat.

Spartan Band hits its stride when peeling back the curtain that separates our generation from theirs. We learn of the monotony of drill and the insufferably hot conditions of which one soldier remarked: "the thermometer stood at 110 degrees, and the breeze was as refreshing as steam from an escape-pipe." If it was not too hot, it was too cold and the Texans dubbed a camp near Pine Bluff, Arkansas, with the entirely descriptive name of "Camp Freeze Out."

Provisions were not ignored and one member rather dryly observed of the rancid beef: "It was so poor that we could not eat it." Not so dryly, Company C determined to bury the sorry fare by means of a ceremonial funeral complete with a guard of honor and musical accompaniment provided by drums and mess pans. The universe of battle is not ignored, as a fallen Texan at Mansfield urged his comrades on by waving his hat and beseeching them to "crowd them boys, crowd them."

In the end, all came to naught for these brave men, save for the dignity and courage of their duty. All does not come to naught in Reid's book, for it tells the story of these "uncommon" common soldiers.

Daniel M. Laney
Austin, Texas

While in the Hands of the Enemy: Military Prisons of the Civil War, Charles W. Sanders, Jr. (Louisiana State University Press, P.O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053) 2005. Contents. Notes. Biblio. Illus. Index. P. 390. \$44.95. Hardcover.

It is often said that the American Civil War is the great watershed in the history of our nation because that conflict produced so many significant changes in the fabric of American society. One of those changes is the manner in which prisoners of war are housed and treated.

In 1861 neither side in the great struggle had given much thought to establishing prisoner of war camps or the problems that would follow the capture of thousands of enemy soldiers. A number of fine books have detailed the harsh treatment of Union and Confederate prisoners, treatment that ultimately killed one in seven prisoners.

Charles Sanders has taken this brutal chapter of the war a step farther. His well documented work suggests that leaders on both sides deliberately chose to ignore the needs of prisoners – shelter, food, and medical supplies – for the sole purpose of winning the war. Using archival materials as well as journals and diaries kept by prisoners, Sanders provides a comprehensive analysis of how Union and Confederate prisons were administered during the war. He details the establishment and operation of the major camps and explains how and why the policies that controlled those operations were shaped by the governments to achieve their national objectives.

Sanders treats both sides equally and fairly, providing strong evidence to support his idea that for the most part, the treatment of prisoners in the Civil War developed into a systematic form of genocide. He also points out that after the war, both sides attempted to expose the horrors perpetrated by the enemy while covering up their own brutality with grand myths or outright lies. He concludes by emphasizing that the trepidations endured by American men in prison camps between 1861 and 1865 inspired much better treatment of enemy prisoners in our nation's ensuing wars.

Mark Choate
Austin, Texas

The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875, Gary Clayton Anderson (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Drive, Norman, OK, 73069-8216) 2005. Contents. Illus. Maps. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 494. \$29.95. Hardcover.

The fundamental story told in this book is well known to all students of American History. Immigrants of European ancestry arrived in a region occupied by Indians and – thanks to technological superiority, an increasing advantage in numbers brought about in part by the impact of European diseases on the Indian population, and ruthlessness – dispossessed the original residents. Indians were killed, driven out, or placed on reservations. The story is not a pretty one anywhere in the Americas, but Gary Anderson argues that it was especially ugly in Texas. Anglo-Americans, he contends, engaged in a “deliberate ethnic cleansing” (p. 7) of Texas aimed primarily at Indians and, to a lesser extent, Mexican Americans. Ranger units, which Anderson compares to paramilitary groups responsible for much of the violence in the remnants of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, acted as the primary agents of ethnic cleansing in Texas.

The problem with Anderson's book is not the story itself, but how he sets it up and tells it. For example, when placing his book in historiographical context, he makes the claim, which admittedly struck a nerve with this reviewer, that no general history of Texas has significantly challenged the portrayal of Indians by T.R. Fehrenbach in *Lone Star: A History of Texas and Texans* (1968) as murderous savages who deserved what happened to them. To prove that *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State* (2003) is no different, Anderson quotes my description of **one** Comanche raid in 1860 as “what amounts to a conclusion” (p. 13) and neglects to mention the real conclusion on the following page, which states that it is possible to see the Texas frontier as a story of raw exploitation by whites and the decimation of earlier arrivals. Also, the tone taken throughout the book seems intended to make up for all the “apologetics” by previous historians. Whites in general and Rangers in particular are painted as murderous villains, whereas Indians tend to be peaceful except in response to white provocations. Indians rarely raped captive white

women, treated kidnapped children well, and killed infants only when necessary. And so on.

The book is filled with errors; some small and only bothersome, and some that really matter. For example, finding Virginia given as the birthplace of Moses Austin, Frederick Law Olmsted's name spelled "Olmstead" and "Olmsted" in the same paragraph, and Shapley Ross turned into "Shapely" Ross are not matters of much consequence. However, the claim that the Mexican Constitution of 1824 abolished slavery is an important error, as is the distortion created by writing that "of the 600,000 people calling Texas home in 1860, a mere 21,878 owned slaves" (p. 39). Of those 600,000 people, nearly 200,000 were slaves and therefore unlikely to own bondsmen themselves, and the vast majority of the 21,878 slave-owners were heads of households that included at least four or five members of the free population. To present the numbers as Anderson does dramatically understates the importance of slavery in Texas.

Finally, even Anderson, in spite of his attempt to be even-handed, appears to have an Anglo-centric bias. "Nothing was inevitable," he writes. "Left alone both Tejanos and Indians would have acculturated much of what has become Texan. Many Tejanos had already embraced republican capitalism. And Indians likely would have discarded the war bonnet for the broad-brimmed felt hat over time" (p. 16). Thus Anderson seems to think that the only thing really wrong with the triumph of white culture was the way it won.

Randolph B. Campbell
University of North Texas

Gunsmoke and Saddle Leather: Firearms in the Nineteenth Century American West, Charles G. Worman (University of New Mexico Press, MSC 11 6290 1 University of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001) 2005. Contents. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. Illus. Index. P. 522. \$65. Hardcover.

In Jack Schaefer's classic Western novel, *Shane*, the title hero tells the little boy who hero-worships him that a gun is simply a tool. "A gun is as good – and as bad – as the man who carries it."

Charles G. Worman has devoted a volume of more than 500 pages to detailing this personalization of frontier firearms. Worman and Louis Garavaglia co-authored *Firearms of the American West*, a monumental work published in two volumes in 1985 by the University of New Mexico Press. *Firearms of the American West* explored the evolution of firearms technology and usage on the frontier in encyclopedic detail. While Garavaglia went on to study modern firearms, Worman collected anecdotal accounts by men and women of the frontier. These accounts are presented, with informative explanations and superb illustrations, in *Gunsmoke and Saddle Leather, Firearms of the Nineteenth Century West*.

Worman has assembled personal recollections and reflections on firearms from the men and women of the vast frontier west of the Mississippi. Among hundreds of photographs are images of such notables as Buffalo Bill Cody, George Armstrong Custer, Ranald Mackenzie, Teddy Roosevelt – and their guns. The photos also feature cowboys, hunters, lawmen, soldiers, prostitutes, and Native Americans, as well as pistols, rifles, shotguns, holsters, and ammunition of almost every conceivable type. Weapons are displayed in interior photographs of bunkhouses, barracks, saloons, and private homes.

“There are probably in Texas about as many revolvers as male adults, and I doubt that if there are one hundred in the state of any other make [than Colt],” observed traveler Frederick Law Olmsted in 1854 [p. 158]. Texas Rangers were responsible for landmark contributions to the evolution of Colt revolvers, one of the most important of all frontier weapons. Included among Texas references are East Texans John S. “Rip” Ford, a San Augustine physician before becoming a famed Ranger leader; Harrison County soldier and future governor Peter H. Bell; and notorious gunman John Wesley Hardin. *Gunsmoke and Saddle Leather* is fascinating and informative.

Bill O’Neal
Carthage, Texas

Gospel Tracks Through Texas: The Mission of Chapel Car Good Will, Wilma Ruth Taylor (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Appendix. Notes. Biblio. Illus. Index. P. 219. \$29.95. Hardcover.

Gospel Tracks Through Texas (GTTT) covers a unique ministry of the American Baptist Publication Society in Texas from 1895 to 1903. The Society decided to use train cars as church buildings on wheels. These chapel cars would travel into small towns or work sites and hold revival services. Often they were also instrumental in establishing churches in frontier regions.

GTTT narrates the arrival of the Gospel Car *Goodwill* which was assigned to traverse the state, stopping in small towns, oil fields, and ranches. Although the chapel car traveled extensively throughout the entire state, East Texas figures prominently in this work. *GTTT* especially discusses the emerging communities of the piney woods such as Marshall, Longview, Nacogdoches, Lufkin, and several others.

Taylor focuses upon the chapel car ministry as well as the missionaries who served on the car. They were a wide-ranging lot. E.G. and Hollie Townsend were native Texans whose ministry was tragically cut short. Edwin and Nettie Stucker were transplants from Illinois, while Alberto Diaz was a fiery Cuban who was driven from the island during the Cuban revolution against Spain. Diaz also ended up burning bridges from his Baptist supporters in Texas as well.

Any criticisms of the book are negligible. I wish that Taylor had explored more of the economic reasons that the ranch foremen, oil companies, and railroad corporations supported the evangelization of their workers. Their thinking seems to be that Christian workers are less likely to fight or drink, two major past-times detracting from worker productivity. But overall, this work is to be commended for its use of primary sources and Taylor's ability to weave a compelling narrative. What emerges is an impressive picture of the economic, racial, and religious factors at work in rural Texas at the turn of the century.

John S. Vassar
Shreveport, Louisiana

Texas Coast, Joe Nick Patoski, Laurence Parent, photos (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2005. Color Photos. Map. P. 107. \$29.95. Hardcover.

The Texas Gulf Coast has intrigued, beguiled, and bedeviled those who have sought to use its varied resources. Directed at a popular audience, *Texas Coast* successfully captures many of these conflicting emotions in its six dozen magnificent photographs by Laurence Parent, with accompanying descriptive text by Joe Nick Patoski. Their subjects are as diverse as the coastal regions they seek to represent, with beautiful images ranging from the expected beaches and dunes to the Battleship *Texas* and the prickly pear cacti of the Palo Alto Battlefield National Historic Site. Patoski's brief text can be surprisingly nuanced for a book of this genre, pointing out, for example, that Port Aransas High School has no football team, that the Port Bolivar Ferry to Galveston Island is "the best free ride in the state" (p. 16), and that many coastal cities have become increasingly interested in preserving their local environments because it is good business, not out of some sudden awakening of ecological consciousness.

East Texans will find that slightly less a third of this handsome book describes the upper Texas Coast, with the text acknowledging that it often "goes unappreciated" (p. 13), a condition that probably will continue for the near future with the closure of a section of Highway 87 south of Sabine Pass. Nonetheless, with images of lighthouses, shrimp boats, animals, trees, beaches, and Galveston Island, the book successfully captures many of the region's natural and man-made environments. There are even strikingly handsome photos of Freeport's petrochemical plants and a tanker sailing out of port, a salute not only to photographer Parent's skills, but also to one of the coast's most important economic engines.

Robert Wooster
Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi

Wanderers Between Two Worlds: German Rebels in the American West, Douglas Hale (Xlibris Corporation, International Plaza II, Suite 340, Philadelphia, PA 19113-1513) orders@xlibris.com 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 490. \$25.23. Paperback. \$36.61. Hardcover.

Oklahoma State University professor emeritus Douglas Hale has devoted most of his career to researching ethnic immigration to the American West. His previous works *The Germans from Russia in Oklahoma* and *The Third Texas Cavalry in the Civil War*, reflect this dedication. Hale's latest book, *Wanderers Between Two Worlds*, presents readers with a detailed account of eight German émigrés to the American Midwest, the region that became known as the German Triangle (Milwaukce, Cincinnati, and St. Louis), and Texas. These political activists came to the United States to escape punishment for their radical activities in Germany.

Hale divides the book into two parts. The first part is a narrative of the efforts of the German Student Union, the *Burschenschaft*, in the failed effort to liberalize the governments and unify the various Germanic states. The second part is the story of their activities in the United States from St. Louis to Texas to Mexico and the Oregon Territory. Students of ethnic and immigration history, the American West, and German-American history will find this book an interesting synthesis. For readers interested in East Texas history, unfortunately, Ferdinand Lindheimer was the only adventurer who spent much time in the Lone Star state, much of that time in the Central Texas Hill Country.

Wanderers Between Two Worlds is a narrative. Hale's purpose is to tell the story of these German expatriates, not analysis nor revision. His familiarity with the sources is commendable, yet the reader wishes for a few more footnotes to substantiate some of the more personal information. Although the reader sometimes gets the feeling of being on a Homeric travel epic with a plethora of adventures and characters, the journey is a pleasant one.

Gene B. Preuss

University of Houston-Downtown

Katherine Anne Porter: The Life of an Artist, Darlene Harbour Unrue (University Press of Mississippi, 3825 Ridgewood Rd. Jackson, MS 39211-6492) 2005. Contents. Notes. Biblio. Photos. Index. P. 381. Hardcover.

Darlene H. Unrue had her work cut out in writing a biography of Katherine Anne Porter. As elusive as a butterfly, Porter flitted from place to place, romance to romance, and job to job in a constant search for fame and fortune. Most of KAP's writing life was hand-to-mouth, and one of her many friends often provided a roof over her head when she was impoverished.

Porter commented that she could not live if she could not write, and she spent her entire life writing news articles, book reviews, journal articles, poet-

ry, short stories, and finally novels. Feeling she had not achieved her goals, at age sixty-five she wrote that she was "determined to be a writer." Her life of notoriety included five failed marriages, and by her own count, thirty-seven lovers. She had trouble meeting deadlines and often had to extend or break writing contracts. She frequently lied about her age and mixed fiction with fact in other parts of her life as well.

Porter made a "wild dash" from her native Texas at the start of her writing career and remained in other states, Mexico, or Europe for most of her life even though she drew characterizations based on her family. She became sophisticated and cosmopolitan, sought after by the literary intelligentsia. Her masterpiece, *Ship of Fools*, for which she received a Pulitzer Prize, was twenty years in the writing.

Katherine Anne Porter died in Maryland in 1980 and was buried in her birthplace of Indian Creek, Texas, in 1981.

Unrue's biography is packed with interesting events and famous personalities Porter encountered over her long life. Many such people became characters in KAP's writings. The biography is interesting, informative, and entertaining. Unfortunately, it has no traditional footnotes, and the back references are difficult to use to validate the information given in the text.

Sarah Ragland Jackson
Nacogdoches, Texas

Aggies by the Sea: Texas A&M University at Galveston, Stephen Curley (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Illus. Appendix. Sources. Index. P. 236. \$30. Hardcover.

The author chronicles the origin of a Marine Academy and its development into a highly rated university. The school was authorized by the Texas Legislature in 1931, during the Depression, but the bill did not provide funding. Finally after much hard work by legislators, Texas A&M University administrators, and citizens of Galveston, the school opened in 1962 with only twenty-three students and no buildings. During its first two decades, the survival of the school was in doubt, with great fluctuations in state funding and enrollment, and one legislator even calling for the closure of the school in 1986.

At first degrees were limited, with majors only in marine transportation and marine engineering, but with the addition of Dr. Sammy Ray, an authority in marine biology, enrollment increased significantly with a new major in marine biology. Students were attracted to the school because of his reputation. Texas A&M University at Galveston used a strategy that has been successful across the nation: hire the best faculty and set high entrance requirements. In 1999, the strategy paid off. *US News and World Report* and *Time/Princeton Review* rated the Galveston campus as one of the top schools

in the nation. The campus now has an enrollment of over 1,600 students.

Curley has an appealing writing style. Amid all the facts and figures, he includes interesting anecdotes, student activities, and photographs that make the story come to life. I recommend the book not only for the former students of the Galveston campus and to anyone interested in the history of this institution.

Jack D. McCullough

Stephen F. Austin State University

Texas Ghost Stories: Fifty Favorites for the Telling, Tim Tingle and Doc Moore (Texas Tech University Press, P.O. Box 41037, Lubbock, TX 79409) 2004. Contents. Appendices. P. 272. \$19.95. Paperback. \$32.50 Hardcover.

The authors of *Texas Ghost Stories* are well-known storytellers who perform regularly in Texas and throughout the Southwest. I have seen them in action and appreciate their skills. They have put together a collection of ghost stories intended to serve as a resource for other would-be-tellers of tales.

The book is divided into three parts and offers fifty-one stories, not fifty, as indicated in the title. Part I is entitled "*Tales the Pioneers Brought*." It contains seventeen ghost stories that came to Texas along with early settlers. Some originated in the British Isles, some are of Cajun origin, and some are slave tales. My favorite in this group is "*Marcario*," the story of a man who tries to outwit Death but in the end must sacrifice himself to save his family. It is easy to picture this tale being told by a master storyteller in a semi-dark room before an eager group of listeners on a dark night in October, probably Halloween.

Part II is entitled "*Tales of the Pioneers*." It includes nineteen stories that originated in early Texas. My favorite is "*East Texas Ghost Dog*." Here, an elderly black lady who lived near Jefferson is walking home late at night from her job as a domestic. She encounters a group of men dressed in white robes and hoods – obviously Klansmen – and fears for her life. But she is guided safely home by a spirit dog. Other tales in this group deal with Indians, *Tejanos*, and famous Texans such as Jim Bowie and Jean Lafitte.

Part III is entitled "*Urban Myths and Contemporary Tales*." Here we find fifteen stories from more or less recent times. My favorite is "*Room 636 at the Gunter*." It deals with a beautiful blond woman who is murdered in Room 636 in the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio and still walks the halls to this very day. Other stories in this group tell of ghostly children, crimes of passion, and vampires.

An appendix written by Tim and Doc advises the would-be-storyteller how to prepare. It explains how to select a story to match an audience, how to memorize the story, and how to make the most effective presentation. Their

most important piece of advice, however, is this: telling a story is not quite as easy as it sounds.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Midwestern State University

The Man from the Rio Grande: a Biography of Harry Love, leader of the California Rangers who tracked down Joaquín Murrieta, William B. Secrest (The Arthur Clark Company, 9017 E Euclid Ave, Spokane, WA 99212) 2005. Contents. Biblio. Maps. Illus. Index. P. 304. \$34.50 +s/h \$4.50. Hardcover.

William Secrest sets himself several challenges with his title. One is to provide a comprehensive biography of Harry Love, who is noted in both Texas and California history. Secrest does this with sources ranging from memoirs of frontier Vermont to Department of Defense documents. Extensive use of newspaper and personal accounts enhance a narrative that includes ocean going and keelboat adventures, Mexican War battles, Rio Grande expeditions, and Gold Rush violence. Throughout the whole, Secrest keeps his eye on his protagonist, Harry Love, a man so impressive both in build and in character that he was known as "The Black Knight of the Zayante."

The second challenge is more complicated. In tying Joaquín Murrieta to the story of Harry Love, Secrest has to prove three things: 1) that Murrieta really existed, a fact widely debated in some leading histories of early California; 2) that Murrieta was a real criminal, not a Robin Hood/Zorro-type hero of the oppressed; 3) that the pickled head Love displayed, as proof of the outlaw's death, was indeed that of Murrieta. These Secrest proves with a judicious selection of contemporary newspaper reports, reminisces, legal affidavits, and court and state records.

Secrest's third challenge is to tie this Texan to California history. Accordingly, he takes the reader on a wild ride through Love's early life in New England, enlistment in the U.S. Army, arrival at Fort Brown, service as an express rider, and success as captain of the first successful keelboat expedition up the Rio Grande. It was in the gold fields in California, however, that Love met his destiny. His pursuit and killing of the notorious bandit, Joaquín Murrieta, and his eventual downfall at the hands of a woman, Mary Swain Bennett, end Secrest's vivid tale of a remarkable and memorable man.

Mary Jo O'Rear
Corpus Christi, Texas

Legendary Watering Holes: The Saloons That Made Texas Famous, Richard Selcer, Byron Johnson, Sharon Peregrine Johnson, David Bowser, Nancy Hamilton, and Chuck Parsons, edited and compiled (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2004. Contents. Epilogue. Illus. Index. P. 308. \$29.95. Hardcover.

Richard Selcer, known widely for research on the Hell's Half Acre district of Fort Worth, threw his intellectual lasso into the herd of historians of "Wild West" Texas and rounded up some of the best known and most skillful writers of the genre to assemble this interesting volume. Following a helpful introduction, Byron and Sharon Peregrine Johnson provide further context on "the fine art of mixiologry," after which other authors chronicle the histories of four of the most famous historic saloons in Texas.

Chosen for their notoriety at the time and for their persistence in the folklore of the region, these "watering holes" include the Vaudeville in San Antonio, Ben Dowell's in El Paso, the Iron Front in Austin, and the White Elephant in Fort Worth. The volume concludes with a brief epilogue briefly summarizing the decline of saloons in Texas society.

The authors of the four chapters on individual saloons would have done well to have paid more attention to the introduction before penning their sections for the work. This first chapter provides a helpful economic and social background for the text that follows, but the authors seemed to follow their own individual interpretations in generalizing about saloon culture in Texas. While one author stated that "Saloon men tried to keep a discrete distance between their places and theaters...", (p. 268), another discussed the happy combination under one roof of a saloon with a vaudeville theater (pp. 53-121). Several of the authors wrote at length about events, mostly violent, that occurred in places other than the saloons about which they were writing; these are interesting stories, but they serve to distract readers from what one would expect in a book focusing on the specific Texas saloons.

These shortcomings do not prevent me from recommending the book. It adds to our understanding of this aspect of past life in the Lone Star State. The authors prepared readable, entertaining texts, and their endnotes lead the most ardent readers to more detailed sources.

T. Lindsay Baker
Tarleton State University

Team of the Century: The Greatest High School Football Team in Texas, Al Pickett (State House Press, McMurry University, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697) 2004. Contents. Illus. Appendices. P. 189. \$16.95. Paperback.

In 1999, the *Dallas Morning News* chose the Abilene Eagles (1954-1957), as the best Texas high school football team of the twentieth century. The Eagles, led by coach Chuck Moser, won three consecutive state titles and

forty-nine consecutive games.

Veteran sports writer and radio sports show host Al Pickett documented the Moser years with facts about the community, coaching staff, and players from Abilene. He included interviews with Abilene coaching staff and players and provided detailed descriptions of Moser's coaching methods.

In 1953, Moser arrived in Abilene to build an unremarkable program into a football powerhouse. He assembled a first-rate coaching staff, including Hank Watkins, Bob Groseclose, B.L. Blackburn, Nat Gleaton, Shorty Lawson, Wally Bullington, and Harold Brinson. Moser demanded the most from his team. He began a rigorous off-season training program that emphasized speed and quickness and required all team members to study pages of plays and statistics. Moser also imposed curfews and required all players to have eligibility slips signed by their teachers. If players were unable to pass at least three classes they were not allowed to play. Moser's eligibility slips came almost fifty years before "No Pass/No Play" laws were enacted.

Moser's methods paid off. After failing to win the district title in 1953, the Eagles built a thirty-seven game winning streak and earned three consecutive state titles in 1954, 1955, and 1956. In 1957, the Eagles extended their winning streak to forty-nine games but failed to advance to the state finals after a tie with Highland Park in the semifinal game.

Pickett's book justified the choice of Moser's Eagles as "Team of the Century," and illustrated how his program not only won championships but prepared students for success.

Lance Pickering
Nacogdoches, Texas

My Life with Bonnie & Clyde: Blanche Caldwell Barrow, John Neal Phillips, editor (University of Oklahoma Press, 4100 28th Ave NW, Norman, OK 73069) 2004. Contents. Notes. Illus. Maps. Appendices. Biblio. Index. P. 325. \$29.95. Hardcover.

My Life with Bonnie and Clyde by Blanche Caldwell Barrow chronicles the Barrow gang and their exploits. Blanche married Buck Barrow, Clyde's brother, and the pair joined Bonnie and Clyde's gang. They crisscrossed the Midwest and South, robbing merchants and banks, shooting at lawmen and locals, and drinking and playing cards.

Blanche Barrow wrote while incarcerated, so she downplayed her and her husband's roles, claiming she never drank, played cards, held a gun, or shot anyone. Buck, she insisted, only reluctantly took part, hoping to control Clyde. Primarily, the couple appeared as ill-fated lovers, with Blanche vowing to stay with her "Daddy" and Buck hoping to protect his "Baby." After lawmen mortally wounded Buck, Blanche was arrested. She became a model prisoner, earned early release, and remarried and settled in Dallas, where she became a

Sunday school teacher and housewife.

John Neal Phillips transformed Blanche's manuscript by introducing punctuation, grammar, and sentence structure into the original style. Phillips included valuable supplemental information, including a time line of the major events of the Barrow gang, a foreword by Blanche Barrow's friend, an annotated list of the Barrow gang's victims, maps of crime scenes, and replicas of primary documents. Most valuable are the many photographs, many taken by Blanche, interspersed throughout the text.

Phillips heavily edits the text to reconcile conflicts with other sources. For example, after the shoot-out at a garage apartment, the manuscript stated that Blanche ran away screaming and waving her arms. Phillips says that no witnesses reported such behavior, and Blanche herself later cast doubt on it. Phillips theorizes that she used this version to help gain early release.

Blanche Caldwell Barrow's *My Life with Bonnie and Clyde* provides a fascinating glimpse into this infamous outlaw gang. John Neal Phillips creates an outstanding source for both novice and expert readers.

James B. Seymour
Cy-Fair College

Sam Houston Slept Here: Guide to the Homes of Texas' Chief Executives, Bill O'Neal (Eakin Press, P. O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 2004. Contents. B&W Illus. P. 168. \$22.95. Paperback.

For his twenty-seventh book, the prolific Bill O'Neal turns to the topic of residential historic sites connected with Texas political leaders. *Sam Houston Slept Here: Guide to the Homes of Texas' Chief Executives* is primarily a guidebook. It should prove valuable to any Texan with an interest in heritage tourism or the domestic life of famous men. O'Neal restricts his subject to extant houses. He gives street addresses and tells which are open to the public. For those that are not, O'Neal advises on the best route for viewing the exterior.

Although they were hardly "chief executives," the reader will appreciate the inclusion of houses belonging to Stephen F. Austin, John Nance Garner, and Sam Rayburn. Each gentleman made his mark on the state's cultural, political, and economic landscape. However, the bulk of the book focuses on residences of actual chief executives, whether provincial or state governors, presidents of the Republic, or presidents of the United States. O'Neal begins with the commandant's house in San Antonio that became the provincial governors' "palace" in 1772. Next, he describes the Greek Revival mansion, built in Austin and first occupied in 1856, which still serves as the official residence of Texas governors. Private homes of the republican and *antebellum* cras are introduced in discussions of the homes of Austin, Sam Houston, Anson Jones,

and Elisha Pease. Austin's is a replica, as are the outbuildings at Jones' "Barrington" plantation (1844), now a living history museum.

To bridge the timeline, O'Neal tosses two Civil War-era governors – Edward Clark and Pendleton Murrah – into the narrative even though neither home has survived. Beginning with Richard Coke's summer house in Galveston, the *post bellum* and Progressive-era homes of Governors J. S. Hogg, Joseph Sayers, S.W.R. Lanham, and T.M. Campbell show the typical Victorian dwellings that were deemed appropriate for the urban professionals who managed Texas in those days. Homes of more modern governors include those of James E. and Amanda Ferguson, as well as Governors Dan Moody, Ross Sterling, Beauford Jester, Allen Shivers, Price Daniel, Preston Smith, Dolph Briscoe, W.P. Clements, Ann Richards, and Rick Perry. Some homes are surprisingly humble, while others, like the mansions of Sterling, Shivers, and Briscoe, conform to Hollywood stereotypes about oil barons and cattle kings. Governor George W. Bush's houses occupy the final section of the book—the homes of U. S. presidents from Texas – which also includes residences of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson, and George H. W. Bush.

It is somewhat disappointing that only forty-three percent of the state governors' homes are included. Out of forty-four governors, O'Neal shows us the residences of twenty. Since Texas got "two governors for the price of one" with the Fergusons, that leaves twenty-five governors (and two presidents of the Republic) homeless on the pages of *Sam Houston Slept Here*, including quite recent people such as Coke Stevenson, John Connally, and Mark White. O'Neal says that some of the omitted houses are in gated neighborhoods or away from public roads. On the other hand, with the exception of Clark and Murrah, O'Neal chose not to include any governors whose homes are lost, even if photographs and written descriptions survive. Historians will likely see this as a fault, but in light of the book's primary purpose as a guidebook, the decision is understandable. On a more positive note, readers will enjoy the vignettes of domestic life that O'Neal supplies, especially the photographs of interiors. These show how leaders presented themselves at home and how their surroundings reveal the varied social and economic strata of the political elite. Especially fascinating are the sequential photographs of the homes of upwardly mobile leaders, such as the Bushes, whose early residences were extremely modest.

In *Sam Houston Slept Here*, O'Neal reminds us of the historical significance of seemingly ordinary sites. Few Texans have thought of the homes of politicians as worthy of preservation; consequently, many were lost. Yet, with books like this to pique the interests of developers, tourists, and history buffs, that indifference may change. For example, since O'Neal began his research, the George W. Bush Childhood Home project secured the house in Midland where George and Barbara Bush lived early in the 1950s. It is now becoming a house museum to recreate the ambience of that era. While some may scoff at the idea of a tract house having historic significance, there was nothing remarkable about Abraham Lincoln's log cabin at the time it was built.

Anyway, the significance of what we save is not for us to determine, but our posterity. They certainly cannot visit relics that are gone.

Jeffrey Owens
Tyler, Texas

Mirabeau B. Lamar: Second President of Texas, Judy Alter (State House Press, McMurry Station, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697-0637) 2005. Illustrations, Patrick Messersmith. P. 72. \$17.95.

Henrietta King: Rancher and Philanthropist, Judy Alter (State House Press, McMurry Station, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697-0637) 2005. Illustrations, Patrick Messersmith. P. 72. \$17.95.

Mirabeau B. Lamar came to Texas from Georgia in 1835, then fought in the war with Mexico for Texas independence. After the war ended, Lamar was elected vice-president of the Republic of Texas. Two years later Lamar became the second president of Texas. He gave speeches about the Comanches and fought with the Cherokees and the Comanches. He moved the state capitol to Austin and started the education system in Texas. After being president, Lamar fought in the Mexican War and wrote poetry, then became the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua. He came back to the U.S. in 1859 and died in December of that year at the age of sixty-one.

One of the best parts of the book was the war for Texas independence, because the author explained why they were fighting. It was good that the poem Lamar wrote to Henrietta Moffitt is in the book, because it is nice to see how he felt. The book also taught me about why the wars with the Indians and Mexico happened, and the kinds of things that happened in battle. The book also helped me know more about Sam Houston and who he was, what he did, and how he did it. I also learned that Mirabeau Lamar had friends and enemies in his life, and about the legend of him taking his wife to an Indian hut and caring for her after an accident.

Henrietta Chamberlain was born in Missouri in 1832. She married Richard King in 1854 after moving to Texas. They lived on a small ranch that quickly grew into one of the biggest ranches in Texas. During the Civil War, Richard King worked for the Confederacy. Union troops once attacked the ranch, and Henrietta and her children moved to San Antonio. After the war, they all returned to the ranch. Richard King died in 1885 and left his wife 500,000 acres of land and \$1.5 million in debt. Henrietta owned the ranch for the next forty years. Robert Kleberg, a lawyer, helped her run it. She made the ranch bigger, developed a new breed of cattle, and built a big house. She donated land for the city of Kingsville, and helped build schools and other things. She died in 1925 at the age of ninety-three.

This book taught me that grownups have lots of responsibilities. The pic-

tures helped me understand how it was back then. I liked Mrs. King because she almost never gave up on the things that she wanted to do in her life.

I would recommend these books for fourth graders and above.

Emma Barringer
Raguet Elementary School
Nacogdoches, Texas

Engraved Prints of Texas, 1554-1900, Mavis P. Kelsey & Robin Brandt Hutchison (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. References. Index. P. 478. \$60. Hardcover.

At first glance this work by Mavis Kelsey and Robin Hutchison appears to be a coffee table book. The full *quarto* size and colorful dust jacket make it an attractive book for tabletop display. This is much more, though, than a book that looks pretty.

The authors have catalogued over 2,000 engravings printed in Texas or of Texas subjects. These descriptions are arranged chronologically by date of their first publication. Photographs of 470 of the printed engravings illustrate nearly every page. A fifty-page index provides cross-references by subject and title of the engravings. Some references to artists and engravers are also listed in the index.

Most of the printed engravings listed are found in the Mavis and Mary Kelsey Collection of Americana in the Cushing Memorial Library at Texas A&M University. Some are found in other collections in the Houston Public Library, San Jacinto Museum of History, The Institute of Texan Cultures, and elsewhere.

Ron Tyler, former director of the Texas State Historical Association, has written a helpful introduction. He considers the graphic printing arts in general, the national and international attraction to Texas scenes and subjects, and graphic printing in nineteenth-century Texas.

Although the title refers to 350 years from 1554 to 1900, the catalogue itself is predominantly a list of nineteenth-century engraved prints of Texas. The period before 1830 covers less than ten pages and lists only fourteen printed engravings; photo illustrations of six of these are included. This first section and each of the seven decades that follow are introduced by Kelsey's and Hutchison's comments which set the historical situations in which the engravings were first published.

This is a well-constructed book in full green cloth, bound to withstand regular use. It will be useful to historians and others not only in finding period illustrations, but for seeing the engravings as historic documents in their own right. In his introduction, Donald H. Dyal says these illustrations "trans-

late into lenses through which we can view the world through different and enhanced eyes.”

Milton Jordan
Georgetown, Texas

The First Texas News Barons, Patrick Cox (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2005. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 280. \$19.95. Paperback. \$50. Hardcover.

When one is a middle-aged newspaperman trying to hang on until retirement – toiling amidst a strange new world of bloggers, unending news cycles, and a generation of young people whose attention span precludes reading anything longer than a truncated text message sent by cell phone – it’s hard not to daydream about being a News Baron. Imagine confidently striding one’s city as a Colossus during the first third of the past century. One might even forgo air-conditioning for such power.

Texas’ big-city newspaper publishers early in the twentieth century – when those newspapers evolved into significant social and economic forces – usually were mustachioed, pot-bellied white men decked out in vested suits adorned with pocket watches. They believed in Progress with a capital “P.” As a rule, they didn’t much like unions or blacks, though most concluded in the 1920s that the Ku Klux Klan was bad for business.

Patrick Cox, assistant director of the Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin, has written an engaging account of the press barons – Jesse Jones, George Dealey, Amon G. Carter, and William P. Hobby, among others – who helped usher Texas out of a post-Reconstruction funk into the modern age. Texas newspaper publishers relentlessly promoted their cities and fought for civic improvement while fighting to keep intact the Southern racial divide between whites and blacks.

Cox chronicles the fascinating machinations of the Pa and Ma Ferguson era of Texas politics, which included the former’s impeachment and the latter’s election as the state’s first woman governor.

His story concludes as the state celebrates its centennial in 1936, with a bash headquartered in Dallas – spearheaded, naturally, by a newspaper publisher.

Those interested in how power is used – as well as who gets to wield it – will enjoy this contribution to the study of journalism, often called the rough draft of history.

Gary B. Borders
Lufkin, Texas

Walking George: The Life of George John Beto and the Rise of the Modern Texas Prison System, David M. Horton and George R. Nielsen (University of North Texas Press, P. O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336) 2005. Contents. Illus. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 257. \$29.95. Hardcover.

As today's events become tomorrow's history, future biographers will not be as fortunate as David Horton and George Nielsen, who had a treasure trove of written materials about their subject, something historians will find less and less in the future's electronic media world.

Horton and Nielsen dug deep and struck it rich in their biography of "the apostle of prison reform" [p. 188]. They present not only the life of one of Texas' greats, but they also give a reader new to both subjects a concise but correct picture of the man himself and the history of the Texas prison system which he personally molded and that "brought him to a pre-eminent place in the history of American prisons" [p. 108], through his charismatic and visionary leadership.

"Managing by Walking Around" was Beto's style, long before Tom Peters and Bob Waterman popularized the phrase in their book, *In Search of Excellence* (1982.) Beto became known as "Walking George" almost immediately after he was named director of the Texas Department of Corrections in 1962. Inmates hung that tag on him because of his unannounced and unexpected visits to the system's many prisons. Not only did he learn what was going right and wrong with the inmates themselves, he also learned first hand what was going right and wrong with the convicts' keepers and the facilities in which they all operated.

The book is intended to be "instructional" and it is. It also presents prison problems espoused by Beto more than thirty years ago – some that still exist today. And *Walking George* is enlivened with bits of humor – such as Beto's practice of "talking to the organ grinder and not the monkey" when it comes to fund-raising [p. 38]. This biography reads almost like a novel.

William T. Harper
Bryan, Texas

Warriors and Scholars: A Modern War Reader, Peter B. Lane and Ronald E. Marcello, editors (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 311336, Denton TX 76203-1336) 2005. Contents. Maps. Index. P. 288. \$24.95. Hardcover.

This collection of essays, selected from presentations given at the University of North Texas' Annual Military History Seminar, combine the thoughts of major military historians and veterans. It provides an interesting sample of the last sixty years of American military history.

The first two sections of the work cover World War II and include discussions of the Eastern front, the decision to use the atomic bomb, first-person accounts by B-17 and B-29 crewmen, and a Marine veteran of Tarawa and Iwo Jima. Section III contains General Russell E. Dougherty's discussion of Cold War leadership, including observations on General Curtis LeMay. The section on the Korean War includes a discussion of the enduring lessons of the war by Brigadier General Edwin H. Simmons, among them that "America is, in truth, a Pacific power, not an Asian power" (p. 147). In Section V, George Herring assesses Lyndon Johnson as commander-in-chief, while former-POW David Winn explores the question of how "smart people do dumb things" (p. 191). The work concludes with Princeton's Normal Itzkowitz discussing the psychology of terrorism and Texas A&M professor Brian Lynn comparing our experiences in the Philippines a century ago to current operations in Iraq.

Seminar presentations frequently do not translate well to the printed page, and collections covering a broad time period often lose focus. The editors, however, have provided detailed footnotes and the collection retains its focus, a focus on major strategic and leadership themes, effectively illuminated by first-person accounts. This collection is highly recommended for libraries. Were it available in paperback it would make an excellent additional reader in undergraduate courses in modern U.S. history or military history.

Ronald L. Spiller
Edinboro University of Pennsylvania

Behind and Beyond the Pine Curtain: A Collection of Essays by an East Texas Editor, Gary B. Borders (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 2004. Contents. P. 244. \$22.95. Paperback.

As an unashamed, unabated reader of East Texas newspapers, I subscribe to more than a dozen every week. In many of the newspapers, the editor is more than just an editor; many write columns at least once a week.

Each time I read a particularly good column, I invariably tell myself, "With all that talent, he should be writing a book."

One of my favorite editors, although he is now a publisher, is Gary Borders of the *Lufkin Daily News*. And, thankfully, Gary has written a book of the columns written for *The Daily News* and *Nacogdoches Daily Sentinel* since 1995, many of them passed along to 600 newspapers by the New York Times News Service.

The seventy or more essays in *Behind and Beyond the Pine Curtain* are largely about East Texas. It's the kind of book you can read for a few minutes, put aside while you mow the grass or feed the cows, and then return to the book without missing a part of the plot.

Gary wasn't born in East Texas, but we have long forgiven him for

that. However, a good ol' boy in East Texas would call his essays "stories," but that's just the way things are in the Piney Woods.

Gary talks about skinny dogs, the things that make him thankful at Thanksgiving, driving around in an ugly truck, hunting mayhaws in the swamps, the joy of woodworking, the indigenous East Texas index-finger wave, the death of Ambassador Ed Clark of San Augustine (a friend we shared), the simple pleasures of walking along a shrouded country road, and a lot of other things sprinkled with East Texas and New Hampshire accents.

Of all the columns bound within *Behind and Beyond the Pine Curtain*, my favorite is one about another country editor, Sam Malone of San Augustine, a fiery editor who kept a whiskey bottle in his desk and a shotgun propped in the corner of his office.

In February 2001, Gary ended a column on Sam with the same sentiments expressed by many of Sam's friends: "Sam never made much money, gave away as much printing as he charged for, never shied away from a good fight and had as much courage as anyone I ever met. He left dozens of dear friends across the Pine Curtain. I'm proud to be one of them."

I wish that Sam Malone, like his friend Gary Borders, had published a collection of his "stories."

Thank you, Gary, for a wonderful, readable book. Every East Texan should have a copy on their bedside table.

Bob Bowman
Lufkin, Texas

Front Row Seat: A Veteran Reporter Relives the Four Decades That Reshaped America, Murphy Martin (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 2003. Contents. Illus. P. 270. \$29.95. Hardcover.

The forty years from 1960 to the present were four significant decades in American history. They included the assassination of a president, the Civil Rights movement, a war that threatened the fabric of our country, a fifty-year clash between superpowers, and the worst terrorist attack in our history.

Murphy Martin has lived more history than most can study. In this book, he tells the story of these four decades from his "front row seat." He traced his experience from his origins in Lufkin, Texas, through his beginnings in journalism and his experiences in the profession. He provides not only the story of these four decades and their influence on his life, but also insights and observations that can only come from one who witnessed the events. The book provides the historian or general reader with stories and observations from the aftermath of the Kennedy assassination, selections from Martin's interviews with Robert and Marina Oswald, the Jack Ruby Trial, confrontations with the Klan in the midst of the Civil Rights turmoil, the close personal friendship that

grew between Martin and Ross Perot, and his relationships with American presidents and other personalities.

Lee Winningham
Nacogdoches, Texas

Our Texas, (Voyageur Press, 123 North Second St., Stillwater, MN 55082-5002) 2004. Color Photos. P. 128. \$19.95. +\$4.95 S/H. Hardcover.

Perhaps some would be perplexed at the need for yet another “pretty” picture book with the Alamo adorning its cover and its contents extolling the grandeur of the great state of Texas. Even as an enthusiastic native eager to see Texas universally recognized as a former nation, I was not convinced of the book’s necessity. As I slowly absorbed the visual cornucopia by some of America’s best photographers, I changed my mind.

The book is a visual tour of natural sweeping vistas, historic landmarks, and cultural heritage sites of Texas taken at the perfect confluence of sunlight, sunset, or nightfall, and in perfect weather. While there seems to be a “favoring” of the Austin area, the book covers the whole state from Amarillo to Galveston Island, and from the limestone cliffs above the Pecos River to the lush Big Thicket National Preserve. While all the photographs are stunning, the one I liked best is Richard Reynolds’ vision of Caddo Lake State Park in the fall (p. 62). The native Texan truly captures Caddo Lake’s mysterious nature.

A second reading should include the brief descriptive captions under the photographs by editor Kari Cornell, who notes “some believe that Nacogdoches is the oldest town in Texas...” (p.65). She could be more definitive. The book is a perfect gift for family and friends, and unlike many such books, it is a great value; I recommend it to anyone who loves beautiful color photographs of Texas’ natural environment. After all, it is the only book of which I am aware that eschews the usual carpet of bluebonnets in favor of a huge field of cabbage in a Mission, Texas, field of dreams.

Cynthia Devlin
Zavalla, Texas

Adventures with a Texas Humanist, James Ward Lee (Texas Christian University Press, TCU Box 297050, Fort Worth, TX 76129-7050) 2004. Contents. Index. P. 284. \$24.95. Hardcover.

James Ward Lee may not have been born in Texas, but he got here as quickly as he could. He draws on more than forty years of teaching English and American literature at the University of North Texas, Denton, and a lifetime of soaking up all things Texan to produce his first major book. With a nod

to Roy Bedichek's *Adventures with a Texas Naturalist*, this work is a vehicle for literary criticism, folklore, and musings on his past life, laced with gentle humor.

Lee devotes more than half the pages to an overview of Texas literature, anchored in an analysis of J. Frank Dobie and Larry McMurtry. Both of these legendary authors Dobie's romantic, and McMurtry's more ironic, treatment of the western influenced Texas writers, including women and Mexican Americans, but in different ways. Lee acknowledges the contributions of Katherine Anne Porter, Shelby Hearon, the "first woman novelist to come out of Texas," and the poet Betsy Colquitt (p.125).

A past president of the Texas Folklore Society, Lee examines the relevance of folklore: the definitive short story. He explores the view of Texas perpetuated in popular culture, the "myths" of the cowboy and the rich oilman, with observations of small town Texas, also giving space to the oft-neglected Arklatex region.

In the last section, Lee presents anecdotes from his pre-Texas life. With tongue in cheek, he recounts some milestone experiences as a fourteen-year-old prep schooler, and his Korean War.

A self-confessed bookworm, Lee demonstrates a love of all literature. Citing influences from Aristotle to Edwin Shrake, from John Donne to John Wayne, he offers insight into the development of Texas literature and the impact of external trends, including politics and popular culture.

Sue Terry
Lufkin, Texas

Golden Boy: The Harold Simmons Story, John J. Nance (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 2003. Intro, B&W Photos. P. 338. \$24.95. Hardcover.

Biographies featuring prominent businessmen have dominated the bookshelves of ambitious junior-executives in recent years. Cadres of corporate managers debate the content of such works over countless business lunches. Most of these bestsellers focus upon various strategies for optimizing corporate profits, but few offer meaningful insight, let alone a blueprint for entrepreneurial greatness. However, John J. Nance's latest work deserves a look.

Nance's *Golden Boy: The Harold Simmons Story* chronicles Harold Simmons' rise from watermelon stacker to billionaire financier. Simmons, a native of Golden, Texas, a diverse business empire built from the ground up. Nance's work reveals the keys to Simmons' success. First, Simmons' East-Texas background taught him to trust in: "Solid people. Texans, like himself, who handled life even-handedly and honestly" (p. 29). Next, Simmons realized that an entrepreneur must learn from positive and negative experiences

continually, always gleaning new ideas for the future. Most importantly, an empire builder must avoid complacency. When acquiring pieces of his vast holdings, Simmons refused to rest on his reputation, even when the long hours threatened his home life. His resolve enabled him to ride out the inescapable *boom-bust-cycle* inherent in Texas, and his engaged management style eased the minds of his investors and employees during turbulent times.

Nance's background as a novelist helps make the text a descriptive delight. The work is a must read for aspiring entrepreneurs, Texas history buffs, and biography aficionados. In short, *Golden Boy: The Harold Simmons Story* is a refreshing story of a corporate builder who outshined his competition via superior intellect and ambition.

Richard L. Merrill
Pocatello, Idaho

Tejano Epic: Essays in Honor of Félix D. Almaráz, Jr., Arnolde De León, editor (The Texas State Historical Association, 1 University Station D0901, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712) 2005. Contents. Appendix. Index. P. 163. \$19.95. Paperback.

Rarely does there appear among historians an individual who epitomizes the quintessential scholar, teacher, and mentor. An academician and gentleman who has amassed an exceptional record of achievement is UTSA professor Félix D. Almaráz, Jr. *Tejano Epic*, edited by Angelo State University professor Arnolde De León, pays tribute to Almaráz's four decades in behalf of Texas and *Tejano* scholarship with a collection of original essays, or *festschrift*.

This brief book includes several student-oriented essays written by scholars whose professional careers benefited from Almaráz's pioneering efforts. Following a concise cataloging of the writings of Don Félix, Nora McMillan examines the life of Ana Maria del Carmen Calvillo, who challenged gender norms of her day. Jesús F. de la Teja analyses the Saltillo Fair and its impact on the socio-economic world of northeastern colonial Mexico. Caroline Crimm exposes the truth about Petra Vela Kenedy and her role in building South Texas. Other contributors to the volume (de León, Pycior, and Romero) document the diversity of the *Tejano* community, such as a rising middling class, *Tejana* activism, and migrant workers. Additionally, Thomas Kreneck evaluates the life of Dr. Hector P. Garcia for his contribution to archival-based scholarship, while Anthony Quiroz compares the Economy Furniture Company strikes in 1958 and 1968 with different results for Mexican Americans. In a concluding essay, Almaráz shares his thoughts on the historian's craft, advising scholars to be "ambassadors for their profession" (p. 132).

Organized around themes that engaged Almaráz throughout his illustrious career, *Tejano Epic* is a satisfying tribute to a well-deserved and respected historian. While unabashed in its admiration of Almaráz, the volume achieves

its purpose of investigating old topics while "shedding new light and understanding on the human experience" (p. 132). Students in the college classroom and scholars of borderlands history will find it a useful addition to an ever-growing body of *Tejano* scholarship.

Mary L. Kelley
Lamar University

Both Sides of the Border: A Scattering of Texas Folklore, Francis Edward Abernethy and Kenneth L. Untiedt, editors (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336) 2004. Contents. Contributors. Illus. Index. P. 304. \$29.95. Hardcover.

Francis Edward "Ab" Abernethy closes more than thirty years as editor of the Texas Folklore Society publications with this wonderful collection of miscellany culled from his files. The volume opens appropriately with correspondence from J. Frank Dobie to a favored UT student and collaborator named John R. Craddock. Most of the letters date from a period early in the 1920s when Dobie, as English Department chairman at Oklahoma A&M, was trying to supervise "six or eight other more or less human beings" (p. 17) and getting admonished by the school president for smoking on campus, not attending chapel, and failing too many students. These letters remind us of Dobie's love of the outdoors, endearing humanity, and sheer skill as a prose stylist. His influence as a folklorist and storyteller runs through numerous articles in this collection, most notably pieces on the legends of the Texas headless horseman and the phantom white mustang.

Lucy Fischer West, daughter of a German sailor and a Mexican schoolteacher, contributes a profoundly moving reminiscence of growing up in El Paso, in the days when the Rio Grande still "flowed furiously" (p. 43). West recalls crossing the border into Juarez for her first years of school due to her mother's belief in "the value of a Mexican education" (p. 46). West and her mother continued to do so in later years to visit relatives and ex-colleagues, buy groceries, and take part in celebrations such as the Day of the Dead. She acknowledges this rich cultural background as her mother's enduring gift.

Phyllis Bridges tells the incredible story of Clementine Hunter, a black woman born in 1887, who worked most of her life on a Natchitoches Parish plantation. She quit school at age ten and remained proudly illiterate, preferring work in the fields. In her sixties, and now doing household labor, she came upon tubes of paint discarded by a visiting artist. This led her to do the first of roughly 4,000 paintings, most of which depicted simple scenes from the everyday lives of plantation workers. Hunter's paintings initially sold for a pittance, but today are worth as much as \$5,000 and considered excellent examples of folk art.

This is a brief sampling of articles from this volume. It is filled with

excellent writing and marvelous stories and is a fitting capstone to Ab Abernethy's distinguished tenure at the helm of the Texas Folklore Society.

Stephen Davis
Kingwood College

The University of Oklahoma: A History, Volume 1 1890-1917, David W. Levy
(University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr, Norman, OK 73069)
2005. Contents. Illus. Epilogue. Works Cited. Index. P. 312. \$29.95.
Hardcover.

Confession: I'm Sooner born and a Sooner bred, and when I die I'll be a Sooner dead. With that now behind me, I can proceed with an honest and straightforward review of the above-cited book.

Perhaps the best way to begin is to quote the first two sentences of the University of Oklahoma President David Boren's introduction: "This beautifully and powerfully written book is far more than just a history of the earliest years of the University of Oklahoma. It is ... a story of how the frontier experience helped shape the American character and continues to influence our national self-image."

The author is Julian J. Rothbaum, professor of modern American history at OU and co-editor of seven volumes of the letters of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

Do not look here for seven national football titles at the University of Oklahoma. Nor — as President Boren delights to say on television — that OU has more National Merit scholars in its students today than does any other public university in the nation.

Volume I ends too early for any such. This is the story of how a raw territory with few if any high school graduates decided that it must have a university of stature in 1892.

The first class of fifty-seven students met on the second floor of a "downtown" store front in Norman and first met on the campus a mile from downtown out on a bald and barren prairie in a single building in 1894.

The first president, Dr. David Ross Boyd, despairing over the naked condition of the campus when he arrived, led in planting a variety of trees to give some arboreal beauty to otherwise barren surroundings.

As unlikely as it may seem, I learned much state history and geography from this book. For instance, as many times as I have traveled between Shawnee and Norman through a narrow band of shinnery and scrub oak between the two towns ending just east of Norman, I have learned that I had traversed the Cross Timbers without my knowledge that I had done so.

Interestingly, the first four horsemen of the original faculty, including Doctor Boyd, met on the campus for a reunion in 1933 or 1934—exact year

unstated in the outlines – in a photograph only a year earlier or the same year I matriculated there.

Pictured also in his World War I uniform as a captain in the army is Walter Campbell, a full professor of English (Stanley Vestal to those who do not know him otherwise), who taught me writing in a first semester freshman class.

You bet I am pleased to have this scholarly, annotated, yet highly readable book for my own shelf.

Max S. Lale
Marshall and Fort Worth, Texas

The Birth of the Texas Medical Center: A Personal Account, Frederick C. Elliott and William Henry Kellar, editor (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2004. Contents. Illus. Notes. P. 241. \$30. Hardcover.

The Birth of the Texas Medical Center is essentially Dr. Frederick C. Elliot's autobiography, but supporting materials are drawn from oral history interviews and other source materials. Elliot was a pioneering dentist and one of the original advocates and founders of the Texas Medical Center. This book offers a fascinating look into his life and career, as well as the political maneuvering that lay behind the creation of one of the world's best healthcare facilities. It also shows how the community rallied behind the medical center politically and philanthropically to create "Houston's gift to the world" (p. 208). Elliot's life and career is the perfect vehicle for the examination of the construction of the medical center because he was intimately involved with its creation and served as its executive director for much of his career.

While the book remains focused on the medical center, it also contains a large amount of social history, especially concerning the founding of many of Houston's charitable organizations and the support they gave to the medical center. It contains a fair amount of attention to gender and race issues in Houston and in the medical community. It is these observations that made the work far more engaging than one might expect. The entire story is presented from a first-person point of view, which also helps to peak the reader's interest.

William H. Keller, the book's editor, is to be congratulated for bringing such a fascinating viewpoint to life. His hand is virtually invisible in the work, as the power of Elliot's story does not require a large amount of help. The book also fills a large hole in the history of Houston because many of the established histories of the city give only scant details on the importance of its healthcare facilities. *The Birth of the Texas Medical Center* not only highlights the importance of the facility, it also details the human interactions that led to its birth, growth, and continued success.

Tom McKinney
Houston, Texas

Austin, Cleared for Takeoff: Aviators, Businessmen, and the Growth of an American City, Kenneth B. Ragsdale (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2004. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 270. \$24.95. Paperback. \$60.00. Hardcover.

Kenneth B. Ragsdale's *Austin, Cleared for Takeoff: Aviators, Businessmen, and the Growth of an American City*, is an engaging account of aviation history in the city of Austin. Ragsdale traces the roots of the city's aviation industry from aviator Calbraith Perry Rodgers' historic landing in Austin to the opening of the Austin-Bergstrom International Airport. He gives an account of the persons responsible for Austin's growth due to the aviation industry. The reader can enjoy his accounts of pilots, politicians, and businessmen who helped mold the city's aviation industry.

Ragsdale provides an excellent account of the University of Texas' role in the training of pilots and the financial impact of aviation on the school during both world wars. The lives of the students, professors, and civilians involved in the flight-training programs at the University of Texas were particularly enjoyable. For the aviation enthusiast, Ragsdale lists various aircraft types and names throughout the book. He also furnishes numerous statistics that enable a better understanding of the magnitude of aviation's contributions to Austin. Ragsdale used interviews, manuscripts, public records, and secondary sources to root the book in sound scholarship.

Karr Pittman
Nacogdoches, Texas

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